# PERFORMING PARADISE IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BAPTISTERY: ART, LITURGY, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF VISION

by

Nathan S. Dennis

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland
May 2016

Abstract

Images representing paradise were some of the most pervasive in Early Christian churches throughout the Mediterranean from approximately the fourth to sixth centuries, but it was only through the baptistery and its attendant rituals that the Christian initiate entered the faith community and had subsequent access to the pictorial cycles within the church interior. The baptistery was both the actual and metaphysical gateway for Christian initiates entering the Church, understood symbolically as the body of Christ and physically as the primary location of Christian cult adjacent to the baptistery. The role of paradise within that space, therefore, offers unique insight into the trajectory of Early Christian beliefs in salvation, as well as the threshold of earthly and heavenly existence that Christian initiates were thought to inhabit within baptismal space.

Baptistery research has surged in the last fifteen years, but the focus has been primarily architectural and typological. This dissertation shifts the discussion toward a more theoretical context for understanding how visions of paradise were constructed in Christianity's central induction ritual. The dissertation examines the pictorial, material, and liturgical strategies employed in Early Christian baptisteries of the Mediterranean to recreate paradise sensorially. The experience of paradise not only transformed baptismal initiates into new Adams and Eves reenacting the fall of humanity upon an Edenic stage, but it also facilitated the transformation of the carnal senses into spiritual perception, deemed necessary for physical bodies occupying a liminal space that was thought to unify terrestrial and celestial realities. I examine the development and transmission of paradisiacal motifs and strategies of vision and the manipulation of sensory experience in the baptisteries of Italy, North Africa, and the

southwestern Balkans, pairing them with contemporary theories of performative space and late-antique discourse on sensory perception.

Dissertation Committee

Herbert L. Kessler, Department of the History of Art, Johns Hopkins University

Pier Luigi Tucci, Department of the History of Art, Johns Hopkins University

Christopher Lakey, Department of the History of Art, Johns Hopkins University

Richard Jasnow, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Erin Rowe, Department of History, Johns Hopkins University

Acknowledgements

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without generous financial support from the Department of the History of Art at Johns Hopkins University, the university's Charles Singleton Center for the Study of Pre-Modern Europe, the Walters Art Museum, and the American Academy in Rome. Specifically, the Elizabeth Cropper Travel Prize and Sadie and Louis Roth Fellowships from Hopkins enabled me to conduct dissertation research over several years at baptisteries, archaeological sites, museums, and archives—as well as collaborate with scholars working on similar projects—in Algeria, England, Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Russia, Serbia, Tunisia, and Turkey. The two-year Paul Mellon/Samuel H. Kress Foundation Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize from the American Academy in Rome provided key financial resources and time for me to research and write in the last two years of my program; and the Academy's professional connections (coordinated through the tireless work of Giulia Barra) enabled me to access many of the sites listed in the dissertation.

I am exceedingly thankful for my adviser, Herbert Kessler, whose mentoring, encouragement, wisdom, and friendship over the years have been nothing short of remarkable. Pier Luigi Tucci, my second reader, offered valuable insight on the archaeological and architectural context of my research from the very beginning of the project. Henry Maguire, my minor-field adviser, has been an ongoing source of invaluable information, advice, and encouragement in my graduate career. Nino Zchomelidse offered advice on structure and methodology early in the project's development and became a dear friend and career mentor in the final stages of its completion. And Mitchell Merback provided key administrative support and

encouragement in the weeks leading up to the dissertation defense.

In the Milton S. Eisenhower Library at Hopkins, I would like to offer my special thanks to research librarian Don Juedes, who managed to track down some of the most obscure and rare books, articles, and images for my research, especially for baptisteries in North Africa and the Balkans that have escaped the purview of most western art historians and archaeologists. At the Arthur & Janet C. Ross Library at the American Academy in Rome, Sebastian Hierl and Denise Gavio accommodated my myriad acquisitions requests and offered research support at every turn.

I would also like to express my eternal gratitude to the many colleagues and cherished friends who served as informal advisers and sounding boards for this project, willing to discuss ideas with me and share their bibliographies, PDFs, and images for the dissertation: Martina Bagnoli, Elizabeth Bevis, Ralf Bockmann, Jelena Bogdanović, Kimberly Bowes, J. Patout Burns, Moheddine Chaouali, Jane Chick, Jacquelyn Clements, Rachel Danford, Bradley Daugherty, Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Jessica Dello Russo, Steven Ellis, Lael Ensor, Jelena Erdeljan, Elizabeth Fentress, Corisande Fenwick, Alžběta Filipová, Snežana Filipova, Ivan Foletti, Meredith Fraser, Margaret Gaida, Laura Garofalo, Lindsay Harris, Lynley Herbert, Robin Jensen, Jenny Kreiger, Peter Lanfer, John Lansdowne, Alexandra Letvin, Alexei Lidov, James Magruder, Elizabeth Marlowe, Amy Miranda, Asa Mittman, Roberto Nardi, Shana O'Connell, Michael Peppard, Rachel Philbrick, Meredith Raucher Sisson, Simonetta Serra, Amy Sillman, Benjamin Tilghman, Branka Vranešević, and Lila Yawn.

And finally, my highest praise, respect, and love go to my family, especially my wife, Valerie Dennis, without whose never-ending support and encouragement none of this would have been possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT....ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS....vi

LIST OF FIGURES....viii

INTRODUCTION....1

Methodological Concerns....6

Chapter Summaries....8

CHAPTER

1. SETTING THE STAGE: THE ARCHITECTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE BAPTISMAL DRAMA....11

Strategies of Concealment and Revelation: The Early Christian Baptistery in Djémila....13

Performing in the Theater of Heaven: The Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna....25

Performativity and Reciprocity: Staging the Return to Paradise....29

Piercing the Veil: *Perichoresis* as Model for Epiphany in Baptismal Space....37

Conclusion....56

2. PERFORMING IN PARADISE: THE RETURN TO EDEN IN EARLY CHRISTIAN BAPTISMAL RHETORIC....58

Exorcism and Exsufflation: Recovering the Breath of God....65

Renouncing the Devil in the New Eden....71

From Skins of Shame to Garments of Salvation....79

Milk and Honey in the Promised Land....86

Conclusion....90

3. RECONSTRUCTING PARADISE IN THE BAPTISTERIES OF THE LATE-ANTIQUE MEDITERRANEAN....92

Architectural Forerunners: Roman Baths and Aquatic Infrastructure....95

Nature Tamed and Framed: the *Hortus Conclusus* and Rise of Paradisiacal Imagery....104

Roman Nymphaea: Framing the Fountains of Paradise....108

Paradise as Symbol: Re-Creating the Edenic Landscape in the Earliest Christian Baptisteries....118

Cosmology and Creation....126

Expanding the Role of Agency in Paradisiacal Space....139

Spiritual Vision and Animate Space....143

The Animated Landscape of Paradise....147

Conclusion....150

4. SWIMMING WITH THE FISHES: REBIRTH AND EPIPHANY IN THE BAPTISTERIES OF NORTH AFRICA....152

The State of Preservation and Significance of a North African Regional Study....154

Harnessing the Sea: Christian Appropriations of Marine Iconography....158

Swimming with the Gods: Divine Performativity in Neptune's Seas....162

Paradise Underwater: Marine Iconography in North African Baptisteries....168

The Sensuality of Stone in North African Baptismal Font Designs....183

Mimesis and Materiality: Imitation-Marble Mosaics in Liturgical Space....200

Conclusion....216

CONCLUSION....218

APPENDIX 1: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PRIMARY SOURCES CITED....219

BIBLIOGRAPHY....219

FIGURES....312

CURRICULUM VITAE....448

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1


1.1 Plan of the Christian quarter at Cuicul (Djémila).
1.2 View of the double-basilica complex and baptistery at Cuicul (Djémila).
1.3 Interior view of the cupola of the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna.
1.4 Detail of the mosaic border of the cupola of the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna.
1.5 View of the northern ambulatory inside the Djémila baptistery.
1.6 View of the eastern hemicycle inside the Djémila baptistery.
1.7 Mosaic pavement inscription at the western end of the Djémila baptistery.
1.8 Baptismal font inside the Djémila baptistery.
1.9 Mausoleum of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, near Tiddis.
1.10 Plan of Santa Costanza, Rome.
1.11 Plan of Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome.
1.12 Plan of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome.
1.13 Royal Mausoleum of Mauretania, near Tipasa.
1.14 Mausoleum of Medracen, near Batna.
1.15 Plan and aerial view of the amphitheater at Lambaesis.
1.16 View of the ciborium over the baptismal font in the Djémila baptistery.
1.17 Drawing of the mosaic cupola in the baptistery of San Giovanni in fonte, Naples.
1.18 Plan of San Giovanni in fonte at San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.
1.19 View of the Early Christian baptistery at Butrint before conservation.
1.20 General and detailed views of the Roman theater at Sabratha.
1.21 Stucco reliefs inside the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna.
1.22 Detail of the cupola mosaic of the Arian Baptistery at Ravenna.
1.23 Cupola mosaics inside the baptistery of San Giovanni in fonte, Naples.
1.24 Detail of Christ trampling the beasts, Orthodox Baptistery, Ravenna.
1.25 Archival photos of frescoes in the baptistery at the Catacomb of Ponziano, Rome.
1.26 Watercolor of the bust of Christ, Catacomb of Ponziano baptistery, Rome.
1.27 Early Christian baptistery at Albenga.
1.28 Detail of the nice mosaic in the Albenga baptistery.
1.29 Detail of mosaic fragments from the wall of the Albenga baptistery.
1.30 Detail of the nice mosaic in the Albenga baptistery.
1.31 Detail of the nice mosaic in the Albenga baptistery.
1.32 Detail of the cupola mosaic from the baptistery of San Giovanni in fonte, Naples.
1.33 Cupola mosaic over the altar of Santa Maria della Croce, Casarano.
1.34 Detail of the south side of the presbyterium inside San Vitale, Ravenna.
1.35 Apse of San Vitale, Ravenna.
1.36 Detail of the apse of San Teodoro, Rome.
1.37 Apse of the main basilica at St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai.
1.38 Detail of Christ in the apse of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai.
1.39 Double-sided icon of the Prophet Elijah and a jeweled cross, St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Exterior view of San Giovanni in fonte at San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.
2.2 Plan of San Giovanni in fonte with its architrave inscription, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.
2.3 Interior view of San Giovanni in fonte at San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.
2.4 Detail of distich 1 on the architrave at San Giovanni in fonte, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Niche fresco from the Early Christian baptistery from Dura-Europos. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery.
3.2 Reconstruction of the Constantinian font at San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.
3.3 Baptistery of the Episcopal Basilica at Salona.
3.4 Watercolor of the mosaic pavement at the threshold of the baptistery at Salona.
3.5 Early Christian baptistery at Cimiez (Cemenelum).
3.6 Baptistery of Santa Maria Maggiore, Nocera Superiore.
3.7 Archival photo of the Bir Ftouha baptistery before it was reburied, Carthage.
3.8 Detail of the pavement mosaic from the baptistery of Bir Ftouha, Carthage.
3.9 Small Baths at Madauros after being converted into an Early Christian church.
3.10 West Baths at Makhtar after being converted into an Early Christian church.
3.11 *Frigidarium* inside the Stabian Baths at Pompeii.
3.12 Detail of the frescoes inside the *frigidarium* of the Stabian Baths, Pompeii.
3.13 Aerial view of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome.
3.14 Ground plan of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome.
3.15 Ground plan of the Antonine Baths at Carthage.
3.16 Ground plan of the West Baths at Iol Caesarea (Cherchel).
3.17 Ground plan of the Baths of Thaenae (Thyna).
3.18 Ground plan of the Legionary Fortress Baths at Lambaesis.
3.19 Detail of frescoes from the Villa of Livia. Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme.
3.20 Garden fresco from *Oecus* 32, House of the Golden Bracelet, Pompeii.
3.21 Detail of Room 70 at Villa A ("of Poppaea"), Oplontis.
3.22 Private *balneum* in the Complesso di Giulia Felice at Pompeii.
3.23 Nymphaeum from Villa Pipiano. Villa Fondi, Piano di Sorrento, Museo Archeologico della Penisola Sorrentina "George Vallet."
3.24 Nymphaeum in Room 9 of the Suburban Baths at Pompeii.
3.25 Nymphaeum in the House of the Centenary, Pompeii.
3.26 Nymphaeum in the House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum.
3.27 Detail of a garden fresco in the nymphaeum of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum.
3.28 Detail of the Via Livenza Nymphaeum, Rome.
3.29 Detail of the apse of the central niche in the Via Livenza Nymphaeum, Rome.
3.30 Detail of St. Peter striking the rock, Via Livenza Nymphaeum, Rome.
3.31 Entrance to the nymphaeum in the "Basilica Cristiana" at Ostia Antica.
3.32 Detail of the architrave inscription in the "Basilica Cristiana," Ostia Antica.
3.33 Archival photo of the inscription in the "Basilica Cristiana," Ostia Antica.

3.34 Detail from the vaulted ceiling of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna.
3.35 Detail of the baptismal font at Basilica 2, Aradi (Sidi Jdidi).
3.36 Detail of the right side of the apse mosaic inside Santi Cosma e Damiano, Rome.
3.37 Detail of the nave mosaics in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
3.38 Baptistery of the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi.
3.39 One half of the Carrand Diptych. Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
3.40 Detail of the mosaic pavement from the nave of the North Church at Huarte.
3.41 Ground plan of the Early Christian Cathedral and its baptistery at Zadar.
3.42 Archival photo of the *consignatorium* mosaic at Zadar.
3.43 1898 sketch of the Oued Ramel baptistery.
3.44 Drawing of the mosaic pavement from the baptistery of Henchir Messaouda.
3.45 Mosaic pavement from the basilica of La Skhira. Sfax, Musée archéologique.
3.46 Mosaic panels from the baptistery of La Skhira. Sfax, Musée archéologique.
3.47 Archival photo of the Henchir Sokrine baptistery.
3.48 Mosaic from the baptistery of Henchir Sokrine. Lamta, Musée archéologique.
3.49 Baptistery of the Polyconch Basilica at Ohrid.
3.50 Baptistery of the Polyconch Basilica at Ohrid.
3.51 Baptistery Chapel at the Ras-Siagha basilica complex at Mount Nebo.
3.52 Baptistery of the Small Basilica at Philipopolis (Plovdiv).
3.53 Mosaic from a Roman house in Carthage. London: British Museum.
3.54 Mosaic pavement from the *triclinium* of the Palace of Polycharmos, Stobi.
3.55 Drawings of the mosaic pavements for the baptistery and basilica at La Skhira.
3.56 Detail of the St. Mark niche in San Giovanni in fonte, Naples.
3.57 *Traditio Legis* scene from the cupola of San Giovanni in fonte, Naples.
3.58 Ground plan of the double-basilica complex (Basilicas I and II) at Bulla Regia.
3.59 Baptistery of Basilica I at Bulla Regia.
3.60 Small plunge-pool from a Roman bath complex near Basilica II at Bulla Regia.
3.61 Baptismal font in Basilica I at Bulla Regia.
3.62 Mosaic pavement of the southern aisle of Basilica I, Bulla Regia.
3.63 Fish border mosaic along the southern aisle of Basilica I, Bulla Regia.
3.64 Detail of a dove in a wreath from the southern aisle of Basilica I, Bulla Regia.
3.65 Threshold mosaic of peacocks in the southern aisle of Basilica I, Bulla Regia.
3.66 Mosaic pavement of peacocks in front of the choir of Basilica II, Bulla Regia.
3.67 Early Christian baptistery at Mariana, Corsica.
3.68 Euphrates River personification in the baptistery of the Polyconch Basilica, Ohrid.
3.69 Archival photo of the rivers of paradise mosaic from House 10, Bulla Regia.
3.70 Current state of the rivers of paradise mosaic in House 10, Bulla Regia.
3.71 Paradise mosaic in the south transept of the Basilica of Doumetios, Nikopolis.
3.72 Copy of Kosmos Indikopleustes's map of the earth, fol. 40v, MS Vat. Gr. 699.
3.73 Drawing of the nave mosaics in the Early Christian basilica at Rusguniae.
3.74 Archival photo of the nave mosaics in the Early Christian basilica at El Mouassat.
3.75 Fragment of the nave mosaic from the Early Christian basilica at Rusguniae. Paris, Musée du Louvre.
3.76 Baptistery of the Great Basilica at Tipasa.
3.77 Drawings of the mosaics from the Great Basilica at Tipasa.

3.78 Site drawing of the Great Basilica complex at Tipasa.
3.79 Site drawing of the Great Basilica complex at Tipasa.
3.80 Early Christian baptistery in the Plaošnik, Ohrid.
3.81 Detail of a deer and fawn, Early Christian baptistery in the Plaošnik, Ohrid.
3.82 Mosaic roundel from the Early Christian baptistery in the Plaošnik, Ohrid.
3.83 Christ trampling the beasts, Cappella di Sant'Andrea. Ravenna, Museo arcivescovile di Ravenna.
3.84 Early Christian baptismal font in the Plaošnik, Ohrid.
3.85 Detail of the bottom of the Early Christian baptismal font in the Plaošnik, Ohrid.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 Farnese Herakles. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.
4.2 Detail of Oceanus mosaic from the Baths of Themetra (Chott Meriem). Sousse, Musée archéologique.
4.3 Marine *thiasos* mosaic from Room 4 of the Baths of Neptune, Ostia Antica.
4.4 Detail of the marine *thiasos* from Corridor C of the Baths of the Marine *Thiasos* at Acholla (Henchir Botria). Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.5 *Frigidarium* C in the Baths of the Cisiarii, Ostia Antica.
4.6 Detail of the *frigidarium* mosaic from the Baths of the Swimmer, Ostia Antica.
4.7 Round Hall 7 in the Baths of the Seven Sages, Ostia Antica.
4.8 Detail of Round Hall 7 in the Baths of the Seven Sages, Ostia Antica.
4.9 Mosaic from *caldarium* 4 at the Baths of Buticosus, Ostia Antica.
4.10 Mosaic from Room 4 in the Baths of the Lighthouse, Ostia Antica.
4.11 Mosaic of Oceanus from Room D of the Maritime Baths, Ostia Antica.
4.12 *Frigidarium* mosaic from the Baths of Trajan, Acholla (Henchir Botria). Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.13 Detail of the Triumph of Dionysus, Baths of Trajan, Acholla (Henchir Botria). Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.14 Reconstruction of the *frigidarium* mosaic from the Great Baths at Thaenae.
4.15 Detail of Arion from the Great Baths at Thaenae (Thyna). Sfax, Musée du Sfax.
4.16 *Frigidarium* plung-pool in the Baths of the Fishing Erotes, Uthina (Oudna).
4.17 Mosaics from the *frigidarium* in the Baths of the Fishing Erotes, Uthina (Oudna).
4.18 *Caldarium* from the Baths of the Fishing Erotes, Uthina (Oudna).
4.19 Marine mosaics from the Baths of the Fishing Erotes, Uthina (Oudna).
4.20 *Balneum* of the Hunters, Bulla Regia (Hammam Darradji).
4.21 Plunge-pool and mosaics from the Larger Southern Baths, Sufetula (SbeÏtla).
4.22 *Frigidarium* from the Baths at Milreu.
4.23 Southern side of the font of the Djémila baptistery.
4.24 Northern side of the font of the Djémila baptistery.
4.25 Detail of the marine motifs surrounding the Djémila baptistery font.
4.26 *Kantharos* and dolphin motif on the southern side of the Djémila font.
4.27 Detail of the basket and marine motifs surrounding the Djémila font.
4.28. Detail of Christ and St. Peter walking on water, Dura Europos baptistery. New Haven, Yale Art Gallery.
4.29 Detail of St. Peter on the Sea of Galilee, San Giovanni in fonte, Naples.

4.30 Mosaic inscription from the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna.
4.31 Detail of the mosaic at the bottom of the baptismal font at Djémila.
4.32 Detail of the northern nave wall of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
4.33 Front of a sarcophagus lid showing the separation of the sheep from the goats, from Rome. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
4.34 Current state of the mosaic at the bottom of the Djémila baptismal font.
4.35 Detail of the fylfot/swastika cross at the bottom of the Djémila baptistery font.
4.36 Detail of a swastika in the ambulatory mosaics of the Djémila baptistery.
4.37 Crosses and swastikas in the Early Christian baptistery in the Plaošnik, Ohrid.
4.38 Ceiling mosaic of the presbyterium at San Vitale, Ravenna.
4.39 Mosaic from the House of the Faun, Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.
4.40 Mosaic from the triclinium of a villa near Populonia. London, British Museum.
4.41 Mosaic of fish and a shipwreck from a villa near Populonia. Piombino, Museo Archeologico del Territorio di Populonia.
4.42 Békalta baptistery *in situ* shortly after it was discovered in 1993 in El-Gaalla.
4.43 Békalta baptistery in its current location. Sousse, Musée archéologique.
4.44 *Piscina* from a Roman house at Bulla Regia.
4.45 Circular polylobed *piscina* from a Roman house near the theater at Bulla Regia.
4.46 Circular polylobed *piscina* from a Roman house near the theater at Bulla Regia.
4.47 *Piscina* from the House of Meleager, Pompeii.
4.48 *Piscina* from the Villa of Diomedes, Pompeii.
4.49 Mosaic pavement from a Roman house in Carthage. London, British Museum.
4.50 Drawing of the baptismal font at Henchir Hakaïma.
4.51 View of the *mensa* at the bottom of the baptismal font at the Basilica of St. Crispina, Theveste (Tébessa).
4.52 State of the baptismal font (as of 2012) at the Basilica of St. Crispina, Tébessa.
4.53 Drawing of the baptismal font at Naro (Hammam Lif).
4.54 Archival photos of the baptismal font at Sidi Mansour.
4.55 Drawing of the baptismal font at Sidi Daoud.
4.56 Baptistery at Basilica 2, Aradi (Sidi Jdidi).
4.57 Baptistery at El Erg, near Thélepte.
4.58 Baptistery inside the Chapel of Jucundus, Basilica of Bellator, Sufetula (Sbeïtla).
4.59 Baptistery at the Basilica of Vitalis, Sufetula (Sbeïtla).
4.60 Baptismal font at Horrea Caelia (Hergla).
4.61 Baptismal font at Uppenna (Henchir Chgarnia).
4.62 State of the baptistery of the Donatist Cathedral at Thamugadi (Timgad).
4.63 Postcard from ca. 1930 showing the Donatist baptistery at Timgad.
4.64 Mosaic pavement of the *impluvium* inside the House of the Stairs at Dougga.
4.65 Mosaic pavement from Dougga.
4.66 Mosaic pavement from the House of Ulysses at Dougga.
4.67 Kélibia (Clupea) Baptistery, from Demna. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.68 Kélibia (Clupea) Baptistery, from Demna. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.69 Funerary mosaic of Valentia, from the Chapel of the Martyrs at Tabarka.
4.70 Drawing of the baptismal font at the Basilica of Vitalis, Sufetula (Sbeïtla).

4.71 Békalta baptistery font, from El-Gaalla. Sousse, Musée archéologique.
4.72 Detail of the entrance hall to the House of the Faun, Pompeii.
4.73 *Lararium* in the peristyle of the House of the Golden Cupids, Pompeii.
4.74 Detail of the imitation *giallo antico* fresco on the *lararium* in the House of the Golden Cupids, Pompeii.
4.75 Detail of the south wall of Room 32 ("Slave Peristyle") at Villa A, Oplontis.
4.76 Detail of imitation-marble frescoes inside the Case Romane del Celio, below the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Rome.
4.77 Imitation *cipollino verde* marble mosaic from a Roman house in Carthage. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.78 Four panels from the same block of *cipollino verde* marble.
4.79 Imitation *cipollino verde* marble mosaic from a Roman house in Carthage. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.80 Imitation *cipollino verde* marble mosaic fragment (from Portico A') from the Palace of Theoderic, Ravenna.
4.81 Detail from an unswept floor mosaic. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Profano.
4.82 Unswept floor mosaic from the House of Saloninus, Uthina (Oudna). Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.83 *Cipollino verde* marble quarry on the island of Euboea.
4.84 Samples of *giallo antico* quarried at Chemtou. Oxford: Corsi Collection at the Oxford University Natural History Museum.
4.85 Quarry for *giallo antico* marble at Smitthus (Chemtou).
4.86 Archival photo of the mosaic from the *impluvium* of Courtyard 4 of the *Maison du Char de Vénus* at Thuburbo Maius.
4.87 Detail of the mosaic pavement from the *impluvium* of Courtyard 4 of the *Maison du Char de Vénus* at Thuburbo Maius. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.88 Archival photo of the mosaic pavement inside *Frigidarium* XII of the Winter Baths at Thuburbo Maius.
4.89 Sketch of a mosaic pavement from a Carthage shortly after it was excavated in 1858. From the *Illustrated London News*, May 29, 1858.
4.90 Hexagonal pavement mosaic from a villa at Bir-Chana, near Zaghouan. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.91 Detail of imitation *giallo antico* marble from the Bir-Chana mosaic. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.
4.92 Summer Triclinium in the House of Jason Magnus, Cyrene.
4.93 Detail of *giallo antico* and *cipollino verde* op*us sectile* sections of the Summer Triclinium in the House of Jason Magnus, Cyrene.
4.94 Eastern peristyle of the House of Jason Magnus, Cyrene.
4.95 Detail of imitation *giallo antico* marble in the mosaic of the eastern peristyle in the House of Jason Magnus, Cyrene.
4.96 Detail of the *oecus* of the House of the New Hunt at Bulla Regia.
4.97 Mosaic pavement from the *palaestra* in the baths at the Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina, Sicily.
4.98 Imitation *giallo antico* marble mosaics from a Roman house at Agrigento (Sicily).
4.99 Room D of the House of the Tetrastyle Atrium at Nora (Sardinia).
4.100 Archival photo of a mosaic from Acholla.
4.101 Drawing and archival photo of the central mosaic panel of a labyrinth mosaic from *Frigidarium* IX of the Baths of Julia Memmia at Bulla Regia.

4.102 Archival photo of the private pool excavated in Court I of the House of Bacchus and Ariadne at Thuburbo Maius.
4.103 Proconnesian marble revetment inside Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.
4.104 Thessalian marble revetment inside Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.
4.105 Baptismal font from the Christian basilica at Meninx (El-Kantara) on Djerba.
4.106 Imitation-marble (or alabaster?) mosaic from the *Maison à murs de brique* at Cuicul (Djémila). Djémila, Musée archéologique.
4.107 Detail of Imitation-marble (or alabaster?) mosaic from the *Maison à murs de brique* at Cuicul (Djémila). Djémila, Musée archéologique.
4.108 Samples of Egyptian alabaster quarried from the Eastern Desert, Egypt. Oxford: Corsi Collection at the Oxford University Natural History Museum.
4.109 Baptistery of the Basilica of Hildeguns at Mactaris (Makhtar).
4.110 Detail of an interior mosaic panel from the baptismal font of the Basilica of Hildeguns at Mactaris (Makhtar).
4.111 Imitation-marble mosaic from the *frigidarium* of the Great Baths at Makhtar.
4.112 Detail of an interior mosaic panel from the baptismal font of the Basilica of Hildeguns at Makhtar.
4.113 Detail of a plunge-pool from the Roman baths at Sitifis (Sétif).
4.114 Nave of the Basilica of St. Crispina, looking east toward the apse, Tébessa.
4.115 Archival photos showing sections of mosaic pavement excavated from the nave of the Basilica of St. Crispina.
4.116 *Xenia* mosaic of a rabbit, from Thaenae. Sfax, Musée archéologique.
4.117 Detail of a marble column shaft from the Basilica of St. Crispina at Tébessa.
4.118 Triconch chapel on the south side of the Basilica of St. Crispina at Tébessa.
4.119 *Cipollino verde* column shaft from the triconch chapel on the south side of the Basilica of St. Crispina at Tébessa.
4.120 Mosaic pavement from the House of Sertius at Thaumugadi (Timgad).
4.121 Basilica of Bellator at Sufetula (Sbeïtla).
4.122 View of the choir and apse of the Basilica of Bellator at Sufetula (Sbeïtla).
4.123 Detail of the mosaics from the choir of the Basilica of Bellator.
4.124 Detail of the panels from the choir mosaic of the Basilica of Bellator.

# Introduction

The theme of paradise was one of the most pervasive theological concepts in Early Christian church design. From the earliest commissions under Emperor Constantine in the first quarter of the fourth century until well into the early Middle Ages, churches throughout the Mediterranean and Levantine world displayed a wide array of iconographical motifs that signaled to the viewer that the Church, through the triumph of Christ and his offer of salvation to humanity, had become a new gateway to paradise. The original gateway, as described in the book of Genesis, allowed entrance into the Garden of Eden, but through the fall of Adam and Eve, the garden and all of its sensorial delights, as well as a direct, theophanous connection to God, were lost to humanity. One of the clearest strategies for converting the Roman population in Late Antiquity was to highlight visually the appeal of a paradisiacal afterlife made possible by Christianity, a seemingly new, even foreign, cult whose religious spaces were expanding exponentially across the urban landscape of the empire, eventually eclipsing and supplanting the Greco-Roman cults that had defined Mediterranean identity for centuries.

Although representations of or allusions to paradise can be found in any number of locations within Early Christian churches from approximately the fourth to sixth centuries, especially apses and nave pavements,[1] it was the purpose-built

[1] For a general overview of the importance of visions of paradise in Early Christian art and architecture, see especially Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte 42 (Rome: Herder, 1987); Geir Hellemo, *Aventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th-Century Apses and Catecheses*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 5 (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1989); Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerie vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, revised ed., Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992); Herbert L. Kessler, "Bright Gardens of Paradise," in *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, ed. Jeffrey Spier (New Haven; Fort Worth: Yale University Press, in association with the Kimbell Art Museum, 2007), 110–139; Robin M. Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and*

baptistery and its attendant ritual of baptism that provided the first glimpse of this restored Eden to the Christian initiate (catechumen). The vision could be sustained along a processional route from the baptistery through the adjoining basilica, or it could be expanded in truly monumental fashion as the central motif of the apse behind the high altar, but it was first and foremost introduced as a mystical vision within the baptistery through architectural framing devices, explicit iconography, the materiality of the baptismal space, and the rhetoric of the baptismal liturgy and catechetical sermons.

It was only through baptism that one could hope to enter the faith community and have subsequent access to the pictorial cycles within the church interior that reinforced the promise of paradise. The baptistery was both the actual and metaphysical gateway for Christian initiates entering the Church, understood symbolically as the body of Christ and physically as the primary location of Christian cult adjacent to the baptistery. The role of paradise within that space, therefore, offers unique insight into the trajectory of Early Christian beliefs in salvation, as well as the threshold of earthly and heavenly existence that Christian initiates were thought to inhabit within baptismal space.

Medieval and Byzantine scholarship has long recognized the baptistery as the first point of contact, both liturgically and pictorially, for entering the Church, and images of paradisiacal landscapes and emblems functioning as synecdoches of paradise are common to the construction of baptismal space. Baptistery research has experienced a considerable resurgence in the last fifteen years, but the focus has been primarily architectural and broadly typological, with a noticeable paucity in focused iconographical studies, and virtually no discussion of the pictorial and rhetorical

*Theological Dimensions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 177–213; and Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

strategies employed within the Early Christian baptistery to manipulate vision and reconstruct the topography of paradise around the baptismal font.[2]

This dissertation seeks to fill a lacuna in the scholarship by shifting the present discussion of Early Christian baptisteries from broad typologies toward a more focused and theoretical understanding of how the experience of paradise was constructed, manipulated, and controlled in baptismal space to better facilitate a transformation of the senses.[3] Transitioning from carnal to spiritual sensory perception, as described in late-antique baptismal sermons and liturgical formulas,

---

[2] Older typological studies, such as Armen Khatchatrian's *Les baptistères paléochrétiens : plans, notices et bibliographie*, École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Collection chrétienne et byzantine (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1962), and idem, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Mulhouse: Centre de culture chrétienne, 1982), are still remarkably valuable in establishing patterns in ground plan and architectural footprint in relation to basilicas and broader urban settings in Roman and Byzantine cities. However, Sebastian Ristow's *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 27 (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1998), is now the gold standard for an analysis of Early Christian baptismal architecture. Marina Falla Castelfranchi's older study, *ΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ: intorno ai più noti battisteri dell'Oriente*, Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica 1, Università degli Studi "G. d'Annunzio" Chieti (Rome: Libreria Editrice Viella, 1980), is also still the best summary study of eastern Byzantine archetypes for baptismal fonts and general principles in designing baptismal space. Iconographical studies from the 1990s through 2010s are too numerous to list here, especially since many of them are focused on singular baptisteries or regional groups of baptisteries, but for broad typological studies of common iconographical motifs and relevant baptismal texts from Late Antiquity, see Daniela Gandolfi, ed., *L'edificio battesimale in Italia: aspetti e problemi. Atti dell'VIII Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Genova, Sarzana, Albenga, Finale Ligure, Ventimigli, 21–26 settembre 1998*, 2 vols. (Bordighera: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 2001); Ivan Foletti and Serena Romano, eds., *Fons vitae. Baptême, baptistères et rites d'initiation (IIe-VIe siècle). Actes de la journée d'études, Université de Lausanne, 1er décembre 2006* (Rome: Viella, 2009); Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 105 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011); David Hellholm, et al., eds., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism (Waschungen, Initiation und Taufe): Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity (Spätantike, Frühes Judentum und Frühes Christentum)*, 3 vols., Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 176 (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); and Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity*.

[3] Interest in the role that sensory perception played in premodern aesthetics has gained considerable momentum over the last several years among classicists and medievalists. Although some of the following texts focus on material earlier or later than this present study, nevertheless they contributed to the present study pieces of the interpretive framework for understanding paradise and the senses in Early Christian baptism: Liz James, "Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium," *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2004): 522–537; Bisserva V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); idem, "Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics," *Gesta* 50, no. 2 (2011): 93–111; Shane Butler and Alex C. Purves, eds., *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses* (Durham: Acumen, 2013); Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley, eds., *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Éric Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2014); and Michael Squire, ed., *Sight and the Ancient Senses* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016).

was a form of religious theater, an orchestrated performance that prepared initiates for epiphany. Whether initiates ever experienced this form of epiphany is questionable, but the rhetoric of baptism in Early Christian literature, combined with sophisticated visual strategies in baptistery design that occurred contemporaneously in the Mediterranean, suggests that bishops, priests, and other clerics administering baptism attempted to create these experiences. Like the concept of paradise itself, the promise of epiphany and transcendent, metaphysical visions of the divine was a powerful recruitment tool in an age of transition from Greco-Roman cults to a burgeoning Christian religion. Christianity emphasized an incorporeal communion with the divine, which, paradoxically, could be achieved through physical agency, such as ingesting the Eucharistic elements (the body and blood of Christ) or discerning the divine through ritual space, where the tangible materials comprising the space were understood as vessels capable of expressing or containing the divine. Non-Christian cults in Late Antiquity certainly understood their own cult statues and respective sanctuaries as potentially animating materials for experiencing the divine, but Christianity generally eschewed the use of cult statues in Late Antiquity as idolatry, proposing instead a more direct encounter with the divine, whose presence was suffusive in sacred space rather than limited to a singular cult object.[4]

Constructing this form of epiphany within the vision of a renewed paradise included not only recognizable iconography for Eden and liturgical rhetoric that provided context for the pictorial representations, but Early Christian designers were also keen to exploit the materiality of visual elements and the performativity of the

[4] In spite of this seemingly Neoplatonic emphasis on the primacy of incorporeal form over materiality, there were certain inconsistencies and paradoxes within the Early Christian polemic against the body that reveal a desire to ascribe sacred presence to bodily form, such as relics or living saints' bodies and the cult of the holy man (or woman). On this phenomenon, see especially Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101; and Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

space itself in order to recreate a theatrical stage upon which catechumens could reenact the fall in the Garden of Eden as new Adams and Eves, only here in the baptistery, the process was reversed and led to salvation rather than condemnation. Using a combination of architectural analysis, liturgical rhetoric, iconographical studies, and the material composition of baptismal space, the following chapters propose news ways of understanding the role of spiritual perception in communing with the divine in Christianity's foremost induction ritual. Moreover, it seeks to tease apart and examine in detail the various design strategies used by Early Christian communities to facilitate epiphany. As catechumens played the roles of Adam and Eve in the biblical Garden of Eden or were offered a glimpse of an eschatological paradise available to them after death, they were encouraged to abandon their carnal senses and adopt spiritual perception for discerning divine presence. The significance of epiphany in baptismal space is one of the more common themes in catechetical sermons from the late-fourth and early-fifth centuries, especially those from the corpus known as "mystagogical" catecheses, which promoted a metaphysical experience within the baptistery as the material, terrestrial space of stone, water, and other structural, decorative, and/or liturgical elements were thought to blend harmoniously with the immaterial, celestial space of a heavenly paradise or an Eden restored.

Viewing these spaces as permeable and mutable, Early Christian theologians—many of whom were probably also instrumental in designing the ritual spaces of the churches they served—envisioned both human and divine bodies as complementary binaries, separate agencies that interacted reciprocally within spatial frames, whether real or imagined. In other words, seemingly inanimate objects in baptismal space, such as the baptismal font itself, could be reimagined as animate,

relational agents in the Edenic drama. In some cases, they were thought to be living vessels of the Christian Godhead, and therefore epiphany, as well as the ritual performance that activated it, was not one-sided. Human participants in the baptismal drama were encouraged to interact with the static and ephemeral, viewing these elements as materials transformed instead of immobile stage props.

The title of the dissertation reflects this dual nature of performance in achieving a vision of paradise. Visions are both fabricated and received, offering two distinct agents in the relationship: the *concepteur* of baptismal space and the catechumen occupying it. However, the end-result of the vision—paradise itself—was often understood not so much as a passive location to be reached in the baptismal drama or even a state of mind, but rather an active agent that "performed" in its own right. Paradise was a concept realized through material forms, such as architectural elements, mosaic tesserae, or variegated marbles that in turn were designed to stimulate the senses and imagination. And it was precisely through those layers of materiality that paradise was transformed into something corporeal and tangible, interacting with catechumens as though a living agent in physical space.

*Methodological Concerns*

In any examination of the strategies employed for developing visual or other sensory experiences, there is a risk of the conclusions becoming too phenomenological, rooted more in imagined, contemporary experience than based on concrete evidence to suggest a particular type of historical hermeneutic capable of explaining otherwise ineffable phenomena. To mitigate against that line of interpretation, each chapter attempts to contextualize visual strategies of depicting paradise in baptismal space through close analysis of the architectural or archaeological setting, in conjunction with extant literary accounts describing similar

spatial designs or the expectations of theophany within the ritualized space of the baptistery. The literary accounts, however, pose specific interpretive problems in and of themselves. With the exception of Ambrose of Milan and Zeno of Verona—both Italians and both writing in Latin—the richest material for examining how bishops and priests wanted their catechumens to experience paradise in the Early Christian baptistery is found in Greek and Syriac catecheses from writers such as Cyril of Jerusalem; John Chrysostom; the "Cappadocian Fathers" Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Basil of Caesarea; and Theodore of Mopsuestia, all of whom were active in the Byzantine East and wrote in Greek; or Syriac/Nestorian theologians such as Ephrem the Syrian or Narsai. The vast majority of archaeological and art historical evidence for the role of paradise in baptistery design, however, is in the Latin West, most notably in the Roman/Byzantine provinces of North Africa, Italy, and the southwestern Balkans along the Adriatic coastline, which were frequently in dialogue with Italian centers such as Ravenna.

Combining western material evidence with eastern literary texts is not a new problem in the history of Early Christian art. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of examples where physical remains match up neatly with literary accounts or inscriptions, but, as the following chapters make clear, the distribution of theological concepts, material concerns, and iconographical motifs was fluid and multi-directional in the Mediterranean world, making it relatively easy to discern the transmission of paradisiacal tropes across geographical boundaries. Moreover, comparisons between the material remains and literary accounts in the present study owe a great debt to the methodology employed by Henry Maguire in *Earth and Ocean* and *Nectar and Illusion*, whereby clear interpretive frameworks are established for both visual and literary materials in order to extract basic principles from each that

can then be used to understand broader aesthetic developments in Early Christianity and Byzantium.[5] Unfortunately, too often in Early Christian scholarship, primary-source discussions of baptism from Late Antiquity are applied uncritically to explain the material and visual remains of baptismal space without taking localized context into consideration. I have tried to let each type of evidence speak on its own terms, which is one of the reasons why Early Christian liturgical rhetoric receives its own, separate chapter, even though chapters on architecture and iconography reflect back on the rhetoric of paradise in catechetical sermons and other theological treatises as needed.

*Chapter Summaries*

The dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first, "Setting the Stage: The Architectural Environment of the Baptismal Drama," examines the Early Christian baptistery in terms of architectural theatricality, including framing devices for controlling the central locus of ritualized action and processional flow in baptismal space. This establishes some of the key parameters for subsequent chapters, particularly 3 and 4, by recognizing visual control over baptismal space as a primary concern from the earliest phases of purpose-built baptisteries in the Mediterranean. Maintaining control over how the space was perceived, and even employing an architectural vocabulary common to the framing of Roman *spectacula*, facilitated both revelation and concealment when casting visions of paradise or attempting to construct divine epiphany. Two fifth-century baptisteries are used as case studies:

[5] Cf. Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, Monographs on the Fine Arts 43 (University Park, London: Pennsylvania State University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1987); and idem, *Nectar and Illusion: Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*, Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Maguire uses a similar methodology when comparing visual and literary representations of paradise in "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 363–373; and "Christians, Pagans, and the Representation of Nature," in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten*, Riggisberger Berichte 1, ed. Hans Christoph Ackermann (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1993), 131–160.

Djémila in Algeria for actual architectural elements that suggest performativity and theatricality, and the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna for fictive elements that present the baptistery as a stage upon which the Edenic drama is enacted. A third case study of the sixth-century baptistery at Albenga in Italy examines the visualization of interpenetrative Trinitarian movement inside the baptistery's only extant niche mosaic. The members of the Trinity were understood to be the divine witnesses to the baptismal rite, for catechumens almost certainly faced this mosaic while making direct confessions to the Trinity during the ritual. The diagram of Trinitarian movement through space provides a paradigm for Early Christian notions of the permeability of sacred space inside the baptistery.

Chapter 2, "Performing in Paradise: The Return to Eden in Early Christian Baptismal Rhetoric," presents literary evidence from Early Christian catecheses, especially those from the "mystagogical" theologians of the late-fourth and early-fifth century, as well as early liturgical texts, sermons, and letters that attest to the role of the Garden of Eden in baptismal traditions and the staging of the return to paradise by catechumens performing as new Adams and Eves. It traces the discrete units of the liturgy that highlighted various archetypal roles for the catechumens in the biblical Fall and presents the rhetoric of the mystical vision inside the baptistery, whereby the mundane, material forms of baptismal space could be transformed into the blessed landscape of paradise through spiritual perception.

The third chapter, "Reconstructing Paradise in the Baptisteries of the Late Antique Mediterranean," introduces the baptistery as a space for representing paradise pictorially. The chapter examines terrestrial, Edenic motifs in pavement mosaics, frescoes, and sculpture, beginning with the two earliest-known baptisteries, Dura-Europos in Syria and San Giovanni in fonte at San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome.

The origins of paradise iconography for Early Christian art are discussed in terms of Roman aquatic infrastructure, namely baths and nymphaea, and how the Christian appropriation of the ancient concept of the *paradeisos* or *hortus conclusus* (enclosed garden) take on new theological meaning within the Church.

And finally, chapter 4, "Swimming with the Fishes: Rebirth and Epiphany in the Baptisteries of North Africa," presents a regional study of paradisiacal emblems and visual strategies that are specific to North African churches. Baptisteries in Algeria and Tunisia, in particular, feature aquatic motifs and material compositions unique to the Mediterranean that have not been studied sufficiently as a subset of the terrestrial Eden or ecclesiastical strategies for manipulating vision within ritual space. These aquatic motifs often allude to passages in Genesis and the Gospels that were interpreted as baptismal tropes, and the very materiality of the baptismal font designs creates a visual play between illusionistic and real aquatic space to provide an intersection of material and immaterial experience. These optical manipulations compelled catechumens to alter their sensory experience of the baptismal space, thus preparing them for the spiritual sight necessary for viewing paradise anew.

# CHAPTER 1

## Setting the Stage: The Architectural Environment of the Baptismal Drama

The staging of the return to paradise in Early Christian baptism was facilitated principally by the words and gestures of the liturgy, orchestrated or directed by the bishops and priests presiding over the ceremony. The architectural setting, however, often complemented the drama and accentuated its theatricality, reminding the catechumens of their mimetic roles in fulfilling biblical typologies, not least of which was Christ's baptism in the Jordan River.[1] This in no way diminished the ritual's *gravitas*. On the contrary, it highlighted theological dichotomies of concealment and revelation, divine immanence and transcendence. To demonstrate how the drama of the Edenic return could be augmented by the architectural context—either actual or fictive—two Early Christian baptisteries from the fifth century will be used as case studies: the baptistery at Djémila, Algeria (figs. 1.1–1.2) and the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna (figs. 1.3–1.4). Both baptisteries offer special insight into how spiritual visions or epiphany could be facilitated as well as manipulated through architectural design, which transformed the interior of baptismal space into a stage of sacred spectacle. The case studies will also establish a foundation for later discussions of the performative role that paradise assumed in the baptismal drama, both as an imagined geographical context for the ritual performance of the human participants and as a performative agent in its own right, interacting relationally with the initiates themselves. The chapter will conclude with a third case study—the Albenga baptistery—where the movement of the Christian Godhead, or Trinity, in physical space is articulated pictorially as an interpenetrative, abstract form. The visual

[1] For an overview of biblical typologies that were projected onto the ritual of baptism in Early Christianity, see especially Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Liturgical Studies 3 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 19–113.

introduction of the Trinity—to whom catechumens were required to profess their faith—into ritual space gave divine presence an imagined tangibility or corporeality that reinforced to the catechumens the belief that they were not only performing before a divine audience but were also doing so on the threshold between heavenly and earthly realms. This made the Trinity manifest in baptismal space, allowing the initiates at the threshold to glimpse the eschatological paradise promised to them as newly baptized members of the body of Christ.

Architectural studies, and especially typologies of baptismal fonts, have dominated the discourse on Early Christian baptisteries for most of the last century. Armen Khatchatrian, Marina Falla Castelfranchi, and, most recently, Sebastian Ristow have catalogued the myriad font designs that emerged in Late Antiquity and have established a model for understanding the distribution of designs both chronologically and geographically.[2] This systematic approach to cataloguing baptismal architecture, albeit useful for comparative studies of architectural development, has nevertheless ignored the relationship between font design and iconography in Early Christian architectural history, and avoided any discussion of baptismal architecture as agent of theatricality in liturgical movement.

As the cataloguing process has made abundantly clear, there was no limit in Late Antiquity to the variation in baptistery or font design. Baptisteries could be stand-alone structures on the premises of ecclesiastical complexes; they could be attached to the basilicas they served; they could be incorporated into the interior

[2] Armen Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens : plans, notices et bibliographie*, École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Collection chrétienne et byzantine (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1962); Marina Falla Castelfranchi, *ΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ: intorno ai più noti battisteri dell'Oriente*, Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica 1, Università degli Studi "G. d'Annunzio" Chieti (Rome: Libreria Editrice Viella, 1980); Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Mulhouse: Centre de culture chrétienne, 1982); and Sebastian Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 27 (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1998).

basilical architecture itself; and they could be positioned anywhere on the grounds of a basilical plot, oriented in any given direction. Baptismal space could be square or rectangular, circular, hexagonal or octagonal; and fonts could be fashioned into almost any shape, including amorphous polylobes, as was common in the province of Africa Proconsularis (Roman Tunisia).[3] What is consistent about Early Christian baptismal architecture, however, is its role in facilitating movement and controlling the vision of the ritualized drama. This self-conscious design of ritual space made divine presence and visions of a paradise regained palpable, as the human senses were intentionally stimulated as catalysts for the adoption of spiritual perception. Baptismal fonts, the principal locus of the paradisiacal drama, were almost always centered within the ritualized space, but they were framed by other architectural or pictorial elements that could either reveal or conceal the drama that occurred within the font.

*Strategies of Concealment and Revelation: The Early Christian Baptistery in Djémila*

The Early Christian baptistery in Djémila (ancient Cuicul), in the heart of the Roman province of Numidia, offers an excellent, if exceptional, example of multiple framing devices that facilitated the theatricality of the baptismal drama (figs. 1.1–1.2, 1.5–1.8, 1.16; also discussed in chapter 4 under figs. 4.23–4.27, 4.31, 4.34–4.36). The baptistery is contemporary with the fourth-century basilica that was constructed at the northern end of the so-called Christian quarter of the city. Only decades later, following the Donatist schism in 411, Bishop Cresconius dedicated a second, larger basilica adjoining the earlier church, effectively transforming the southeastern corner of the city into a massive ecclesiastical complex with two apsed basilicas, two crypts housing martyrial relics, a chapel, a large stand-alone baptistery with baths and

[3] On the polylobed font design and its effect on controlling optics and priming catechumens for spiritual epiphany, see chapter 4.

latrines for the initiates, and numerous adjacent rooms and corridors connecting the buildings.[4]

The baptistery itself is large for the site, a rotunda measuring approximately 11.5 m. in diameter with two interior ambulatories 1.7 m. wide, filled with thirty-six niches (twelve along the outer and six along the inner walls of each ambulatory) raised 0.47 m. above the ground level (fig. 1.5). These niches form tall spaces that have been interpreted as seats for catechumens awaiting baptism or as a cloakroom of sorts, where initiates would have deposited their clothing and/or jewelry before entering the baptismal font naked.[5] These symmetrical ambulatories on the north-south axis of the baptistery are formed by solid walls and therefore offer no views of the center of the baptistery where the font and ciborium formed the locus of the baptismal rite. Catechumens would have entered the baptistery from the western entrance, catching a brief glimpse of the central font before processing into either the northern or southern ambulatories, where they waited to be summoned for baptism.

The Djémila baptistery is connected to the fourth-century basilica on the baptistery's eastern side, marking the processional route for entering the basilica for the first Eucharist as neophytes approached the altar before the eastern apse. It seems probable, therefore, that catechumens approached the central baptismal font through the western side of the baptistery, where not only would they have had their first prolonged vision of a paradisiacal space,[6] but also they would have been facing a

[4] For the architectural history of the site, see Paul Monceaux, "Découverte d'un groupe d'édifices chrétiens à Djemila," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 5 (1922): 380–407; Albert Ballu, *Guide illustré de Djémila (Antique Cuicul)* (Algiers: Ancienne Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1926); 14–42; Louis Leschi, *Cvicvl de Nvmidie: Toute une cité de l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1938), 7, 34ff.; and Yvonne Allais, *Djémila*, Le monde romain, Collection publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938), 28ff.

[5] Ballu, *Guide illustré de Djémila*, 28; Leschi, *Cvicvl de Nvmidie*, 34; Allais, *Djémila*, 59–60.

[6] The mosaics of the Djémila baptistery and their role in constructing a vision of paradise are discussed in detail in chapter 4.

prominent eastern hemicycle (fig. 1.6), most likely reserved for the bishop and priests or attendants presiding over the ceremony.[7]

The western approach to the baptismal font is further supported by the mosaic roundel at the western entrance (fig. 1.7), which bears the fragmentary inscription, "[ACCEDIT]E AD D[E]V[M] ET INLVMIN[AMINI]"[8] ("Draw near to God and be illuminated"), a passage taken from Ps. 33.6 [5] of the Vetus Latina translation of the Bible that would have beckoned the initiates to the font for baptism.[9] Moreover, the mosaic inscription that traces the bottom interior of the square font (figs. 1.8, 4.23, 4.31, 4.34), reading "[GENTES T]EMPVS ERIT OMNES IN FONTE [LAVARI]" ("There will be a time for all people to be washed in the font [or spring]"),[10] begins on the eastern side—which would have been most visible to a catechumen entering the font from the west—then proceeds along the southern side and concludes on the northern. In fact, the only side on which the inscription does not appear is the western, which features a decorative rinceaux border. This side would have been the least visible for initiates approaching from the west, further indicating that, although catechumens entered the ambulatories from the western entrance, they were required to backtrack to the vestibule at the entrance before turning the opposite direction and approaching the baptismal font in the center.

---

[7] Cf. Leschi, *Cvicvl de Nvmidie*, 34.

[8] The reconstruction of the inscription is based on Henri Grégoire, "Les baptistères de Cuicul et de Doura," *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 589–590. See also J. G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 39.

[9] Although the same basic Latin formulation for the first clause of Ps. 33.6 appears in Jerome's Vulgate, Jerome's translation of the Pslams from Hebrew did not appear until ca. 405 CE, making it too late for a literary influence on the Djémila baptistery inscription. For a comparison of the two texts, see Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae, seu Vetus Italica, et Caeterae quaecunque in Codicibus Mss. & antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: Quae cum Vulgata Latina, & cum Textu Graeco comparantur*, vol. 2 (Reims: Reginaldum Florentain, 1743), 65.

[10] Alternatively, Monceaux proposed RENASCI as the final, missing word in the baptismal font inscription—cf. "Découverte d'un groupe d'édifices chrétiens à Djemila," 406. This is unlikely, however, since the inscription seems to allude to, or at least appropriates the language of, Virgil's Third Eclogue, when Damoetas states, "Ipse, ubi tempus erit, omnis in fonte lavabo" ("I myself, when the time comes, will wash all of them in the spring"). This Virgilian, bucolic allusion in the Djémila font is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

Determining the processional route for baptism at Djémila is important for understanding how carefully the architecture controlled the participants' and spectators' view of the drama occurring in the center of the baptistery. The ambulatory walls completely concealed the font and its attendant ritual from catechumens until each initiate was ready to step forward and undergo baptism. There are no other Early Christian baptisteries that include such an ambulatory design, which has prompted much speculation on the archetypes that influenced the construction of the Djémila baptistery. The ambulatories and the circular shape of the baptistery itself have often been compared to Roman mausolea, with J. G. Davies even stating that the baptistery's design may have been directly influenced by the Mausoleum of Quintus Lollius Urbicus (fig. 1.9), a second-century rotunda tomb located a little more than 100 km. east of Djémila, near Tiddis (Castellum Tidditanorum).[11]

The problem with this comparison, or any other Roman mausoleum for that matter, is that the Djémila baptistery's interior architecture and its principal function bear little resemblance to Roman funerary monuments. There is no question that baptism was equated with death and resurrection in Early Christian theology. The transition from catechumen to neophyte, the newly baptized, was a performance of transformation. The postlapsarian demise of the old Adam, banished from paradise, was effectively reversed as the new Adam was restored to his original, prelapsarian state in Eden through Christ and the waters of baptism. Moreover, catechumens were assigned Christomimetic roles as they imitated in a literal sense both the historical baptism of Christ and the act of divine submission that went with it, and in the figurative or typological sense the death and resurrection of Christ that reuinited him

[11] Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*, 16. For a summary of the architectural affinities between Roman mausolea and Early Christian baptisteries, see especially Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens*, 13–15, 24–27.

with God in heaven. These nuances of Christomimesis were fundamental to most Early Christian baptismal liturgies across the Mediterranean and Levantine worlds. The imitation of Christ's death and resurrection through the ritual performance of baptism was a particularly apt metaphor for baptismal fonts large enough to accommodate full immersion. Early Christian baptismal liturgies also show a penchant for Pauline theology of death and resurrection, often paraphrasing Rom. 6.[12] The baptismal font, therefore, in addition to serving as a portal into a paradise reborn, was simultaneously a threshold through which catechumens passed symbolically from death to life.[13] Consequently, the association between stand-alone baptistery architecture—especially rotundas or similarly shaped structures such as hexagons or octogons—and Roman mausolea is appropriate, if not somewhat obvious.

Understanding the mausoleum as the architectural forerunner of the baptistery, however, is problematic when applied universally, and there are other archetypes in Roman architecture that are, in many instances, more fruitful examples for understanding the way in which vision and spectacle were framed inside the Early Christian baptistery. The role of ritual as spectacle is never taken into account when examining the relationship between baptisteries and mausolea. Roman mausolea, including that of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, rarely feature interior ambulatories, and when they do, they are typically punctuated by columns that afford a more-or-less

[12] Cf. Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, 1.17; Ambrose of Milan, *De mysteriis*, 4.21; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, 3.12; *Constitutiones apostolorum*, 7.3.43; Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 52.
[13] Baptism as reenactment of Christ's death and resurrection is a common trope in patristic literature, having its origins in Pauline theology (Rom. 6.3–11; Col. 2.12). For a discussion of the rhetorical and pictorial imagery of baptism and death, see Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 44–47; Robin M. Jensen, "Womb, Tomb, and Garden: The Symbolism of the North African Baptismal Fonts," paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, San Francisco, CA, November 1997; Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, "*The Font Is a Kind of Grave*: Remembrance in the Via Latina Catacombs," In *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, eds. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot, Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 157–181; Jensen, "*Mater Ecclesia* and *Fons Aeterna*: The Church and Her Womb in Ancient Christian Tradition," in *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature* (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 137–155; and idem, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theological Dimensions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 137–176.

continuous view of the central funerary space. This is certainly the case with such Early Christian architectural examples as Santa Costanza or Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome (figs. 1.10–1.11), the latter being a church, not a mausoleum, but nevertheless modeled in all likelihood on the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.[14] There are also earlier republican and imperial mausolea in Italy that feature ambulatories with solid walls, including the mausoleum of Lucius Munatius Plancus in Gaeta (22 BCE); the mausoleum of the Servilii along the Via Appia Antica in Rome (late-first century BCE or early-first century CE); the mausoleum of the Plautii at Tivoli (early-first century CE); the Torraccio dell'Inviolata, northeast of Rome (first- or second-century CE); and, of probably the greatest influence, the imperial mausoleum of Augustus (fig. 1.12) in Rome (ca. 28 BCE), where the function of the interior circular corridors, it would seem, was related to Roman funerary rites of circumabulation.[15]

Enclosed ambulatories, however, generally were not a common feature among Roman mausolea designs and certainly not in Roman Africa. The most renowned mausolea in ancient Numidia, the so-called Mausolée royal de Maurétanie (or at times given the misnomer "Tombeau de la Chrétienne," fig. 1.13) near Tipasa (Aelia Tipasensis) in Algeria, and the third-century BCE mausoleum of Medracen near Batna (fig. 1.14)—both well known in antiquity[16]—feature singular, circular corridors

[14] Cf. Hugo Brandenburg, *Die Kirche S. Stefano Rotondo in Rom: Bautypologie und Architektursymbolik in der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Architektur*, Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998).

[15] Cf. Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 58–59, 83–85, 124–126; and Mark J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 18–19.

[16] As Filippo Coarelli and Yvon Thébert note, "Les sources écrites concernant la Numidie à l'époque hellénistique sont rares : les chroniques indigènes sont perdues et la plupart des textes dont nous disposons parlent de la Numidie à l'occasion de son insertion dans des conflits qui la dépassent." In "Architecture funéraire et pouvoir: réflexions sur l'hellénisme numide," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 100, no. 2 (1988): 761. However, the first-century CE Roman geographer Pomponius Mela mentions the royal mausoleum near Tipasa in *De situ orbis*, 1.31. The mausoleum of Medracen is not explicitly attested in ancient sources; the earliest account of the monument appears in Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* from 1068—cf. El Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. William MacGuckin de Slane (Paris:

or simple, straight passages, both with fixed *termini*.[17] The attempt to assign Roman mausolea as the archetype for rotunda baptistery construction is complicated further by the fact that mausolea were private, familial spaces that were rarely designed to accommodate processional routes for ritual or to frame ritual space for the viewer. Early Christian baptisteries were designed, in large measure, to facilitate movement in liturgical procession, with the baptismal font occupying the central locus of dramatic action. Framing the catechumens' vision of this locus, therefore, was essential for accentuating the theatricality of the baptismal drama of an Edenic return.

The Roman mausoleum, therefore, is neither the only nor the most appropriate architectural model for the Djémila baptistery or, for that matter, any detached, centrally planned Early Christian baptistery. An alternative architectural model for understanding the visual framing devices and theatricality exhibited inside these baptisteries comes from a seemingly unlikely source: the Roman amphitheater. Roman amphitheaters were highly visible monuments within Roman cities; and after the construction of the Flavian Amphitheater (Colosseum) in Rome in 80 CE, this uniquely Roman plan for arena spectacles proliferated throughout the Roman provinces, appearing in nearly every Roman city with a significant population.[18]

---

Imprimerie impériale, 1859), 121–122; and Gabriel Camps, "Nouvelles observations sur l'architecture et l'âge du Medracen, mausolée royal de Numidie," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 117, no. 3 (1973): 471. In the nineteenth century, an otherwise anonymous author, A. C., claimed to have found a reference to the mausoleum in the *Vita* of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus from the *Historia Augusta*, but the passage is problematic. Camps argues, however, that knowledge of the mausoleum was likely distributed throughout the region in Late Antiquity via the Third Augustan Legion, which had a permanent military base at Lambaesis, less than 50 km. southwest of the mausoleum. Cf. Camps, 470–471.

[17] Though rare, there are a few examples of funerary tumuli and mausolea in Numidia that do contain singular, enclosed ambulatories, such as the mausoleum at Blad-Guitoun, near Ménerville, Algeria, which appears to have been constructed for a Christian patron sometime between the fourth and sixth century CE. Cf. Stéphane Gsell, "Le mausolée de Blad-Guitoun (fouilles de M. Viré)," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 42 (1898): 481–499; Camps, "Nouvelles observations sur l'architecture," 508–509; Coarelli and Thébert, "Architecture funéraire et pouvoir," 773, fig. 13; and Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 102–103.

[18] The bibliography on the architecture of the Roman amphitheater is expansive, but for the origins of the amphitheater in Italy and its subsequent exportation to the provinces, see especially Jean-Claude

Curiously, no amphitheater has yet been found at Djémila, though a theater has been excavated on the eastern slope of the city, adjacent to the Christian quarter.[19] The appropriation of certain formal characteristics of amphitheater design was one of function, not ideology, unlike the mausoleum, which afforded a natural funerary context for the rhetoric and ritual of baptism. Amphitheaters were designed as either elliptical or circular structures, enclosed by *cavea*, which included both the seats that ascended from the floor of the arena and the ambulatories that were constructed below the seats to facilitate movement around and into the central arena where spectacles were performed—usually gladiatorial combat, *venationes* (combat with wild beasts), or public executions.[20] The intersections between these curvilinear ambulatories and the perpendicular, straight passageways leading to the seating areas of the amphitheater offered the viewer glimpses of the drama within the arena before actually engaging in the performance as a spectator. In other words, the architecture of the amphitheater offered "teaser" views of the games as persons walked the ambulatory corridors. Once they entered the primary space of the *cavea* overlooking the arena, the attendees became active particpants in the drama with a full view of the events.

---

Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain. Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions*, 2 vols. (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1988); D. L. Bomgardner, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), especially 121–196 on the importation of Roman amphitheaters in North Africa; and Katherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), especially chs. 5–6. On the development of amphitheater architecture and spectacle specifically in Roman Africa, see Adeline Pichot, "Théâtres et amphithéâtres : outils de romanisation en Maurétanie?" In *Theatra et spectacula. Les grands monuments des jeux dans l'Antiquité*, Études de Lettres 288, eds. Michel E. Fuchs and Benoît Dubosson (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, Revue Études de Lettres, 2011), 171–192; and idem, *Les édifices de spectacle des Maurétanies romaines*, Archéologie et histoire romaine 22 (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2012).

[19] Cf. Ballu, *Guide illustré de Djémila*, 42–46; and Hans Peter Isler's entry for the theater at Djémila in *Teatri greci e romani alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato*, vol. 1, eds. Maurizio Scaparro et al. (Rome: SEAT, 1994), 241–242.

[20] On violence in Roman *spectacula* within the arena, see especially K. M. Coleman's discussion of Martial's epigrams in "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 44–73; and Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998).

This movement through space and the framing of spectacle is distinctly like the catechumens' experience inside the baptistery, especially at Djémila. Using the amphitheater of nearby Lambaesis (Lambèse) (fig. 1.15)—located approximately 150 km. south of Djémila—as a comparison for architectural and circumambient form, the secular arena and Djémila baptistery ground plans exhibit similar characteristics in negotiating processional traffic and both veiling and revealing the central spectacle of the architectural space. The Lambaesis amphitheater is poorly preserved and is missing the usual exterior arcade that provided the entrance and annular corridors below the *cavea* for spectators walking around the arena to find their seats.[21] Aerial views of the amphitheater, however, reveal the perimeter ground line for where the arcade once stood, its masonry blocks having been spoliated for use in other building programs during the early Middle Ages following the city's collapse after the Arab Conquest in the seventh century. The ambulatories below the *cavea* were linked to the primary axis of main entrances (in this case, northwest by southeast) and would have connected to the narrower corridors (still partially visible) leading to the edge of the arena and to the ascending stairs for seating areas. These passageways facilitated movement around the central locus of action—the arena—offered glimpses of the performative space as spectators walked around or waited outside the arena, and ushered visitors into the central space where they became participants in the spectacle itself.

At Djémila, the ambulatories frame the north-south axis for entry points as well as the central locus of action—the baptismal font—while controlling both the flow of catechumens around the interior space and their views of the ritual occurring

[21] On the phases of construction for the Lambaesis amphitheater and its current condition, see Jean-Claude Golvin and Michel Janon, "L'amphithéatre de Lambèse (Numidie) d'aprés des documents anciens," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 12–14 (1976–1978): 169–193; and Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain*, vol. 1, 130–131, no. 111.

in the center of the baptistery. As they entered the baptistery from the western vestibule, just before they progressed into one of the two ambulatories, they were greeted by the mosaic roundel inscription that promised illumination through baptism, and they would have caught a glimpse of the baptismal font, the lush aquatic-themed mosaic pavement that surrounded it, and the font's ornate ciborium (fig. 1.16). Only when they proceeded into the center of the baptistery, however, were they granted an unimpeded view of the ritual space through which they would transition symbolically from death to life—where they would inhabit paradise anew.

The similarities between the architecture of arena spectacle and baptismal liturgy are formal and primarily utilitarian. The Djémila baptistery employed a distinctly Roman architectural solution to processional space and the framing of *spectaculum* that delineated the boundaries between passive witness and active participant. Although the appropriation of an architectural construct for displaying the sport of the arena was certainly unconscious, it nevertheless underscored the theatricality of the baptismal drama by organizing the ritual space of the baptistery according to the design principles for *spectacula*.

The baptistery's architecture and the accompanying liturgy also both veiled and revealed the locus where the baptismal drama was staged. This, in turn, controlled the catechumens' vision of the paradisiacal space surrounding the font until the initiates were ready to participate in the ritual. At a basic level, concealing and exposing sacred space within the baptistery reinforced the physical boundaries between the sacred space of Christian ritual and the more mundane space occupied by catechumens preparing for baptism. This physical delineation of space had a biblical precedent in both the ancient Israelite Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple. In the former, a veil separated the Holy of Holies—where the Ark of the Covenant was

deposited—from the surrounding space occupied by the priests (cf. Exod. 26.33). In the latter, one veil hung at the entrance to the temple, separating the outer court—a more mundane space—from the so-called Holy Place of the temple interior. A second veil divided the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies, the temple's innermost sanctum—the same veil mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels as tearing miraculously from top to bottom following the crucifixion of Christ (Mt. 27.51, Mk. 15.38, Lk. 23.45).[22] Like the Holy of Holies, the baptismal font and its attendant waters were considered the most sacred precinct of the Early Christian baptistery. Framing the vision of this precinct for the unitiated was a strategy that symbolically maintained its holiness—its otherness or distinctness from adjacent spaces within the baptistery and a reminder that only those who were prepared sufficiently to undergo the mystery of baptism could, in fact, enter the precinct.

The veiling of this space, however, also paralleled the delineation of intangible, spiritual boundaries. Catechumens occupied a terrestrial space as they walked on stone pavements composed of cold, hard marble revetment or individual tesserae for mosaic floors, yet they were summoned in the liturgy to imagine themselves processing through the soft and verdant landscape of a new Eden or the waters of a new creation. As they entered the water in the baptismal font, they were to imagine themselves in the Jordan River—as Christ was for his own baptism—the rivers of paradise in the Garden of Eden, a tomb from which they would be resurrected unto new life in the Christian community, or even the womb of the Mother Church from whom they were reborn as children of God.[23] And gazing

[22] On the use of veils in the Jerusalem Temple, see Flavius Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, 5.5.4; and idem, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 8.3.3.

[23] These distinct interpretations of the font were not mutually exclusive. In fact, Early Christian art and its iconology were often intentionally polyvalent. On multiple meanings and intentional ambiguity in Early Christian symbolism, see especially Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in*

upward at decorated cupolas above the baptismal fonts, such as the mosaic-covered ceilings of the Orthodox and Arian Baptisteries in Ravenna or San Giovanni in fonte in Naples (figs. 1.3–1.4, 1.17, 1.32), they caught a glimpse of the eschatological paradise promised to them after death, heaven itself. This cosmological hierarchy of a heavenly and terrestrial paradise became conflated as catechumens imagined themselves inhabiting both spaces simultaneously, even as they were acutely aware of the performativity of their actions inside a space designed to resemble paradise, though clearly was not paradise.

As the corpus of so-called mystagogical catecheses from the late-fourth and early-fifth century indicates,[24] the spiritual vision acquired as part of the mystery of baptism enabled catechumens to "pierce the veil" that separated the layers of mundane and spiritual realities, seeing objects and materiality within the baptismal space as substances transcending their physical properties to become elements of an entirely different, heavenly or celestial vision. Paradise, then, was thought to be both transcendent—that is, beyond the actual, material space of the baptistery—and immanent, or present within the baptismal space itself. This paradox appears with some frequency in Early Christian discussions of divine presence, where God is both distant and outside the world, yet at the same time intimately involved in its daily affairs. The permeable boundaries in theology and vision were part of a broader phenomenon in Early Christian thought that understood veiling and revelation as thresholds for experiencing theophany.

Few Early Christian baptisteries had solid ambulatories framing the central font as the locus of divine experience. Ambulatories perforated by intercolumniations were more common, such as at San Giovanni in fonte at the Lateran in Rome (fig.

---

*Early Byzantine Art*, Monographs on the Fine Arts 43 (University Park, London: Pennsylvania State University Press for the College Art Association, 1987).

[24] These catecheses and liturgical sermons are discussed in detail in chapter 2.

1.18) or the early-sixth century baptistery at Butrint (ancient Bouthroton), Albania (fig. 1.19). This made the permeability of sacred space within the baptistery that much clearer, for catechumens were offered constantly changing views of the central font as they processed around it, moving ever closer to the inner precinct of the baptistery as they transitioned from the outermost space of the ambulatory to the central stage of the font, where the baptismal drama was enacted. Initiates moved from periphery to center and then back to periphery again as they exited the baptistery and entered the adjoining basilica. The fluidity and interpenetration of the interior architecture became a visible model of an otherwise invisible veil that separated earthly and celestial space.

*Performing in the Theater of Heaven: The Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna*

The Roman amphitheater was not the only architectural influence on the construction of Early Christian baptismal space or the theatricality of the baptismal rite. In at least one instance, the architecture of the theater played a significant role in framing the drama of Early Christian baptism. The outermost rim of the mosaics adorning the cupola of the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna (figs. 1.3–1.4) depicts a sequence of fictive architectural niches. The niches are framed on each side by compartments with coffered roofs that rest atop four columns with Corinthian capitals and apses filled with scallop-shell motifs. Within the niched recesses are four altars and four thrones exhibiting the characteristics of the *hetoimasia* (ἑτοιμασία), the prepared throne of Christ, a symbol of the *Parousia* (Παρουσία) or Second Coming.[25]

[25] Spiro Kostof argues that the thrones cannot be representations of the *hetoimasia* since the theology of the *hetoimasia* was a later Byzantine development. Instead he states that, "The throne should therefore rather symbolize the glorious presence of Christ in much the same way that an empty throne in Roman times, and earlier still in the East, often represented the presence of a specific deity or the emperor." Cf. Spiro K. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 18 (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1965), 80. His argument, however, is unconvincing since the presence of Christ is made explicit in the center of the cupola, and similar

These emblems alternate around the circumference of the cupola. On the four altars are open codices, each one identified by an inscription as one of the four Gospels.

As Spiro Kostof already noted, the fictive architectural elements of the cupola are reminiscent of the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theater,[26] which served as the architectural background for the stage of a theater, often designed as a two- or three-storey façade built of *aediculae* with sets of four columns that flanked recessed niches, such as that of the third-century CE theater at Sabratha in Libya (fig. 1.20).[27] The spaces between the columned *aediculae* and niches were often filled with cult statues or other figures who seemed to preside over the theatrical presentations that occurred on the stage below. In the Orthodox Baptistery, the fictive niches are filled not by pagan deities but rather the Christian Gospels and thrones that foretell the return of Christ. Although Kostof was one of the first to note the similarity to Roman stage architecture in the baptistery mosaics, he offered little analysis of the theologically significant modifications. Within the space of the baptismal drama, it is the Word of God in the Christian scriptures—made manifest in the image of Christ in the center of the cupola—that presides over the ritual. Moreover, the empty thrones suggest the presence of Christ at the end of time, a moment when the Christian community would dwell in the presence of God in a heavenly, eschatological paradise. This motif is further accentuated by the depiction of the apostles holding

---

empty, yet prepared, thrones appear widely in Early Christian art alongside images of Christ himself. Although the theology of the *hetoimasia* was not recorded in literary sources until after the Orthodox Baptistery was constructed, the imagery nevertheless conforms to an eschatological context.

[26] Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, 78–79.

[27] On the *scaenae frons* architecture of the Sabratha theater, see Giacomo Caputo, *Il teatro di Sabratha e l'architettura teatrale africana*, Monografie di archeologia libica 6 (Rome: Bretschneider, 1959); Jean-Claude Lachaux, *Théâtres et amphithéâtres d'Afrique proconsulaire* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1979), 94–99; and Isler's entry in *Teatri greci e romani alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato*, vol. 3, 135–136. For more general discussions of *scaenae frons* architecture, see especially Frank Sear, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 83–95; and the individual contributions on regional variation in the volume *La* scaenae frons *en la arquitectura teatral romana. Actas del Symposium internacional celebrado en Cartagena los días 12 al 14 de Marzo de 2009 en el Museo del Teatro Romano*, eds. Sebastián Ramallo Asensio and Nicole Röring (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Fundación Teatro Romano de Cartagena, 2010).

crowns that presumably are intended for the baptismal initiates after death. Catechumens within the baptistery were actors upon a ritual stage, their actions witnessed by a heavenly host of renowned apostles, Christ himself, and the prophetic testimony to the divine presence of Christ in the Gospels. This spatial construction between celestial audience and terrestrial participant created an environment in which theophany was possible for catechumens performing the baptismal drama.[28]

This baptismal theater of sorts had yet another possible tier of *scaenae frons* architecture. Immediately below the level of the pendentives of the cupola and in between the windows of the baptistery, eight pairs of stucco reliefs appear depicting what most scholars have interpreted as sixteen prophets framed by *aediculae* (fig. 1.21). Although less convincing in their modeling of three-dimensional architecture than the mosaics in the cupola, the stucco reliefs nevertheless picture a fictive recession of architectural space, with two columns surmounted by Corinthian capitals in the foreground and two in the background. The four columns are connected by an awkward rendering of architrave slabs that project vertically and abruptly in the sculpture rather than making any illusionistic attempt to show a background recession of space. The scallop-shell apse rendered two-dimensionally in the cupola is modeled here in high relief as it hovers over the head of each figure. This aedicular architecture is nearly identical to that shown in the cupola, making the holy men in the stucco reliefs additional witnesses to the baptismal drama unfolding below, an audience not unlike the gods and goddesses who appeared as statues in the *aediculae* of Roman

[28] On the relationship between baptismal liturgy and theophanous experience in the Orthodox Baptistery, see Annabel Jane Wharton, "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna," *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (1987): 358–375; idem, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 105–147; and Geir Hellemo, "Baptism – The Divine Touch," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 18 (2004): 101–113.

*scaenae frontes*.[29] The Orthodox Baptistery, therefore, was transformed into a space reminiscent of a Roman theater, with allusions to *scaenae frontes* on both the interior walls and cupola, a stage façade that framed the central font below as the actual stage on which catechumens and the attending bishop or priests performed the baptismal rite. As the initiates processed around the baptismal font, their actions were mirrored in the procession of apostles in the cupola above, and the representation of the baptism of Christ in the Jordan River in the center of the cupola only reinforced the Christomimetic role that catechumens fulfilled when performing the rite of baptism. Their divine audience of Old Testament prophets, apostles in heaven, and even Christ himself highlighted the theatricality of the baptismal liturgy and reminded the initiates that their actions were recorded not only by the members of the Christian community on earth, but also by their spiritual forebears in heaven.

Emulating the architecture of the Roman amphitheater or theater in Early Christian baptisteries was usually neither conscious nor intentional. The Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna is the exception. The theater was an emblem to many Early Christian theologians of excess and immorality,[30] and the amphitheater carried even graver associations with Christian martyrdom, especially in North Africa, where the martyrial cult of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas, two women executed in an amphitheater

---

[29] Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, 74–75.

[30] On Early Christian opposition to the theater or spectacles within the amphitheater, see Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 35.4–5; Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, 38; idem, *De spectaculis*; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, 6.20; John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, 6.1; idem, *Homilia ad populum Antiochenum*, 17; Augustine, *Enarratio in psalmum*, 39.8ff., 50.1; idem, *Sermo* 9.8.10; idem, *Sermo* 14.3; idem, *Sermo* 32.20; idem, *Sermo* 46.3.8; idem, *Sermo* 198.3; *Canones in causa Apiarii*, 15; *Breviarium Hipponense*, 11; Quodvultdeus, *De tempore barbarico*, 1.1.11; idem, *De symbolo*, 1.2.23–27, 2.1.5; idem, *Contra Iudaeos paganos et Arrianos*, 4.8; Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei*, 6.6, 6.12; Leo I, *Tractatus* 84.1. See also Christine Schnusenberg, *The Relationship Between the Church and the Theatre: Exemplified by Selected Writings of the Church Fathers and by Liturgical Texts Until Amalarius of Metz, 775–852 A.D.* (Lanham, New York: University Press of America, 1988), originally published as *Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Theater: Dargestellt an ausgewählten Schriften der Kirchenväter und liturgischen Texten bis auf Amalarius von Metz (a.d. 775–852)* (Bern: Lang, 1981); Dorothea R. French, "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 3 (1998): 293–318; and Daniel G. Van Slyke, "The Devil and His Pomps in Fifth-Century Carthage: Renouncing Spectacula with Spectacular Imagery," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005): 53–72.

in Carthage in ca. 203 CE,[31] was well known in the western Roman Empire.[32] The design of the Roman amphitheater, however, with its *cavea* that facilitated circumambient movement while framing the central spectacle visually, was well suited to the needs of a circular baptistery, where the ritual drama before the central font could be similarly framed in theologically significant valences. Ambulatories within Roman mausolea certainly would have exerted an influence as well, but this serves as further evidence of a common architectural vocabulary in Late Antiquity that appealed to multiple contexts that required visual framing devices. The theater, too, seems an unlikely inspiration for baptistery design, yet its stage architecture could be appropriated as an enclosure for the baptismal drama that occurred in the central font.

*Performativity and Reciprocity: Staging the Return to Paradise*

The individual components of the baptismal liturgy facilitated the construction of a paradisiacal vision as elements of a theatrical performance, and the interior of the baptistery became a stage on which catechumens could assume their roles as Adam

[31] According to the *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, Sts. (Vibia) Perpetua and Felicitas, along with Revocatus, Saturninus, Saturus, and Secundulus, were martyred in an amphitheater in Carthage in commemoration of the *dies natalis* of Emperor Septimius Severus' son Geta. Later Christian tradition placed the site of the martyrdom in Carthage's principal and largest amphitheater (where a chapel dedicated to the martyrs was later constructed), but this prominent location has long since been rejected in favor of a more modest amphitheater adjoining one of the military encampments in the city. For the most recent discussion of the military site and the reconciliation of hagiographical and archaeological evidence of the martyrdom, see Noël Duval, Serge Lancel, and Yann Le Bohec, "Études sur la garnison de Carthage. Deux documents nouveaux — Les troupes de Proconsulaire — Le camp de la cohorte urbaine," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 15–16 (1979–1980): 33–89; Hédi Slim, "Recherches préliminaires sur les amphithéâtres romains de Tunisie," in *L'Africa romana: Atti del I Convegno di studio Sassari, 16–17 dicembre 1983*, ed. Attilio Mastino (Sassari: 1984), 129–165; David L. Bomgardner, "The Carthage Amphitheater: A Reappraisal," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 1 (1989): 85–103; and idem, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre*, 128ff.

[32] Feast days for three Carthaginian saints—Perpetua, Felicitas, and Cyprian—are recorded in the *Depositio martirvm* (ch. 12) of the Calendar of 354, commissioned in Rome by Furius Dionysius Filocalus as a gift for Valentinus. Cf. Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronographvs Anni CCCLIIII*, in *Chronica minora, Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, vol. 1, Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum, Auctorum antiquissimorum 9 (Bern: Weidmann, 1892), 71; and Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 17 (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 45.

and Eve, the primordial first parents. Like professional actors or mimes at the *proscaenium* of the local theater or odeon, Christian initiates and their priestly counterparts recited dialogue and gestured symbolically to one another before an audience of other catechumens and/or baptized members of the Christian community. Catechumens were known to have sung hymns or psalms as they approached or processed around the baptismal font,[33] not unlike a chorus occupying the orchestra of the theater and providing commentary and context for the play. And the theatricality of the imagined return to paradise even adhered, albeit loosely, to the classical (Aristotelian) principles of dramatic performance, including the construction of plot (μῦθος), character (ἤθη), thought/volition (διάνοια), and spectacle (ὄψις).[34] The narrative of a prelapsarian return expounded by the priest or bishop inside the baptistery reached its cathartic fulfillment in the catechumens' voluntary renunciation of Satan and their entrance into the baptismal waters, envisioned as both the gateway to paradise and the intersection of its principal rivers. Catechumens even experienced *peripeteia* (περιπέτεια), Aristotle's term for binary states in character development that were manifested most clearly through a reversal of fortune.[35] Initiates experienced this reversal in the baptismal rite as they achieved an elevated state of being: The body, inherited as a receptacle of impurity, was cleansed both physically and spiritually; those banished from Eden were returned as its rightful occupants; and the carnal vision inherent to humanity's fallen state was transformed into spiritual sight.

[33] Cf. Ambrose of Milan, *De sacramentis*, 4.2, 7; and idem, *De mysteriis*, 8.43.
[34] Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 6. Aristotle's six principal components of a play—of which diction (λέξις) and lyric poetry (μελοποία) are also a part—are applied specifically to tragedy, which Aristotle considers more noble than comedy for its ability to effect catharsis in the viewer and communicate ethical principles more effectively.
[35] Ibid., 11.

It was precisely the peripatetic shift in this ritualized drama that exemplified the catechumens' imitative role. Aristotle characterized all dramatic arts as fundamentally mimetic,[36] not least of which was theatrical performance with actors imitating people or events that could be projected onto the audience as mirrors of a recognizable reality. The Early Christian baptismal narrative of the return to paradise employed this form of mimesis as catechumens embodied biblical characters whose path to condemnation was reversed to salvation. However, the resultant effect of the mimetic role was at once both Aristotelian in its cathartic shift toward redemption and Platonic in its dichotomy of reflective and ideal forms of reality. As the initiates imitated new Adams and Eves reeintering the Garden of Eden or a celestial, eschatological paradise, their physical presence in the baptismal drama was but a reflection of the idealized reality of an actual paradise that would become manifest upon death or at the *Parousia*. This recapitulation of Plato's concept of the ideal world of forms and the physical, carnal reality that was, in fact, only a mirror image of the ideal, was well suited to Christian soteriology. As the Apostle Paul noted in his first letter to the church at Corinth, "For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then we will see face to face. Now I know only in part; then I will know fully, even as I have been fully known."[37] The influence of Platonism on Early Christian thought is well known, and the Pauline statement has a distinct echo of Plato's famous allegory of the cave, whereby one's own perceived reality is revealed to be merely a shadow of a truer ontological reality.[38] This shadow-reality was the mimetic performative in the ritual of baptism. By inhabiting the roles of Adam and Eve, catechumens enacted

[36] Ibid., 1: "ἐποποία δὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποίησις ἔτι δὲ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητικὴ καὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἡ πλείστη καὶ κιθαριστικῆς πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον." In Aristotle, *Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*, Mnemosyne Supplement 338, eds. Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 165.
[37] Paul the Apostle, "1 Corinthians," 13.12, trans. NRSV.
[38] Plato, *Politeia*, 7.514a ff.

within the baptismal space a shadow-theater of sorts, not simply mimicking characters from a Christian *mythos*, but consciously viewing a temporal, terrestrial reality as an imprint of an atemporal, celestial existence in heaven, the threshold of which could be glimpsed through the waters of baptism and participation in the Eucharist.

The mimetic performance, as defined (and in most cases opposed) by Early Christian theologians, is not to confuse ritual or ceremonial with theater.[39] The linguistic and gestural content of the liturgy was, however, performative, both in J. L. Austin's original definition of the term as speech acts and in a broader, anthropological sense, as defined by Stanley Tambiah's application of the concept to ritual.[40] In the original, Austinian view of performativity, certain utterances, such as vows, are themselves actions that are fulfilled when spoken—a concept that Austin titles "illocutionary" speech acts, as opposed to "perlocutionary" speech acts, which are catalysts that create other effects, but these speech acts are not effects in and of themselves. Illocutionary speech acts are delivered as ritual, but they are not confined temporally and instead "maintain a sphere of operation that is not restricted to the moment of the utterance itself."[41] Austin's theoretical model of the illocutionary speech act is particularly helpful for understanding elements of Early Christian baptismal liturgy as performatives. Vows, promises, and creedal utterances in the

---

[39] See note 30. Early Christian animosity toward the theater and *spectacula* is well documented in Schnusenberg, *The Relationship Between the Church and the Theatre*. More recently, Blake Leyerle has examined John Chrysostom's use of rhetoric from the theater in the fourth century and his pejorative association with public entertainment, in *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001). The classic Early Christian polemic against theatrical entertainment is Tertullian's *De spectaculis*, written in the last decade of the second century or first decade of the third. However, clerical opposition to the theater, arena of the amphitheater, and the circus continued well into the Middle Ages, in spite of its wide appeal to the masses.

[40] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, 2nd ed., J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 6ff.; see also John R. Searle's modification of Austin's theory of speech acts—especially that of the illocutionary speech act—in *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969). For ritual performativity, see Stanley J. Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 113–169.

[41] Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York, London: Routledge, 1997), 2.

baptismal rite are actions that transcend the temporal moment in which they were spoken. As catechumens renounced Satan and vowed themselves to Christ, they effectively subverted the expected outcome of the Edenic narrative, reenacting the moment before the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. In the baptismal space, however, the vow to Christ and its attendant commitment to the Church also broke free from its temporal moment of utterance and became an ongoing, present action. This can also be said of the initiate's professed adherence to Trinitarian orthodoxy while standing in the font. These illocutionary speech acts complemented, perhaps even modeled, the spatio-temporal breach that occurred within the baptismal rite. Through baptism, the catechumen "pierced the veil" that separated terrestrial and celestial existence, inhabiting a liminal space in the baptistery that was understood as a threshold to the divine and performing within a temporal moment that had eternal implications. Nearly every component of the baptismal liturgy signaled Christians' liminal identity. Catechumens were beckoned—indeed required—to transcend the boundary that divided temporal from eternal, terrestrial from heavenly, carnal from spiritual.

There is yet another way in which Early Christian baptism was performative. The elements constituting baptismal space were often performatives in their own right, interacting sensorially with the occupants of the baptistery. The most conspicuous was the font. It was topomimetic[42]; it imitated Eden, specifically, the

[42] "Topomimesis" has become a term more commonly applied to medieval and early-modern sites that consciously imitate the art and architecture of Jerusalem in order to become "New Jerusalems." On the application of the term, see Roberta Panzanelli, "Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the 'New Jerusalem' at Varallo (1486–1530)," Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Los Angeles, 1999), 62ff.; Frida Forsgren, "Topomimesis: The 'Gerusalemme' at San Vivaldo," in *Urban Preoccupations: Mental and Material Landscapes*, ed. Per Sivefors (Pisa, Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2007), 171–201; D. Medina Lasansky, "Body Elision: Acting Out the Passion at the Italian *Sacri Monti*," in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, eds. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 249–274; and Michele Bacci, "Performed Topographies and Topomimetic Piety. Imaginative Sacred Spaces in Medieval Italy," in *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Пространственные иконы :

central river that flowed through the garden (Gen. 2.10) or the four rivers (Gihon, Pishon, Tigris, and Euphrates) that were nourished by it (Gen. 2.11–14). The font, therefore, was an active agent in the Edenic drama, a mediating force between heavenly and earthly realms, like the performativity that Bissera Pentcheva has ascribed to Byzantine icons as activated agents in liturgical spaces or the inherent performativity of church interiors that Alexei Lidov has termed "hierotopical" spaces.[43] Ciboria, the canopies that frequently appeared over baptismal fonts, or the cupolas of the baptisteries themselves, were commonly adorned to evoke a vision of an eschatological, celestial paradise.[44] As mimetic structures within the baptismal drama, fonts, ciboria, cupolas, and even pavements, if they contributed to the construction of a vision of paradise, were performative agents. More than static props or set pieces for the staging of the return to paradise, these structures were focal points for engagement with the baptismal initiates and were even perceived as animate objects within catechetical lectures or ekphraseis. Pentcheva's recent work on performativity in Middle Byzantine icons has created new approaches to understanding the animate power of seemingly inanimate objects. As she writes,

> In its original setting, the icon performed through its materiality. The radiance of light reflected from the gilded surfaces, the flicker of candles and oil lamps placed before the image, the sweetly fragrant incense, the sounds of prayer and music—these inundated all senses. In saturating the material and sensorial

---

перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси], ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Индрик, 2011), 101–118.

[43] On the performativity of Byzantine icons, see Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): 631–655; and idem, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). On the emerging field of hierotopical studies and their relationship to the performative, see Alexei Lidov, "Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History," in *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow, Radunitsa, 2004), 15–31; idem, Иеротопия : пространственные иконы и образы-парадигмы в византийской культуре (Moscow: Дизайн. Информация. Картография. Троица, 2009); and idem, ed., *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, especially the essays by Lidov, Alexandr Godovanets, Nicoletta Isar, and Jelena Trkulja.

[44] For an overview of the cupola as a space for representing heaven, see Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945): 1–27; and Jelena Bogdanović, "Canopies: The Framing of Sacred Space in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Tradition," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 2008).

> to excess, the experience of the icon led to a transcendence of this very materiality and gave access to the intangible, invisible, and noetic.[45]

Pentcheva's application of the performative is, of course, more problematic for the structural elements within a baptistery. Icons, as she notes, were endowed with and enacted divine essence before the viewer; and the viewer, in turn, projected *pathema* (πάθημα), or emotion/affect, back onto the icon, activating it as an animate, living presence.[46] The architectural and decorative elements of a baptistery are obviously not icons in the traditional sense, but they are spatial icons. The elements perform through their materiality, just as an icon does in its ability to saturate the senses of the viewer and even produce, as Pentcheva terms it, *synaesthesis* (not to be confused with synaesthesia), which she describes as the full engagement of human sensory perception that enables one to experience the divine through the "simultaneity of senses."[47] Most Early Christian baptisteries constructed between the fourth and sixth centuries were adorned with marble revetment and/or mosaics, the latter consisting of either reflective stones (usually marble) or glass for the tesserae. Mosaics often covered the pavements and walls, the baptismal font, and the ciborium or cupola overhead, enveloping catachumens in a shimmering play of light as the multicolored tesserae reflected the flickering flames of candles and oil lamps, and as the undulating water of the font—the sounds of which would have reverberated off of the baptistery walls—further absorbed light and reflected it throughout the interior space.[48] As catechumens exited the font after baptism, inevitably they would have transferred some of the water from the font to the surrounding pavements,

[45] Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," 631.
[46] Ibid., 631–632. See also idem, *The Sensual Icon*, 2ff., 121–154.
[47] Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," 631; idem, *The Sensual Icon*, 2ff. Although Pentcheva argues against the use of synaesthesia in the discourse of Early Christian sensory perception, Patricia Cox Miller embraces the term as a way of explaining the way in which invisible phenomena were seen or otherwise experienced in Early Christian textual accounts. Cf. *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 8ff.
[48] A more thorough discussion of the materiality of baptismal fonts and its relationship to the transfiguration of vision in the Early Christian baptistery appears in chapter 4.

intensifying the color of the individual tesserae and heightening their reflective surfaces. Chants and hymns sung within the baptistery would have echoed inside. And the odor of burning incense, wafting from thuribles; the taste of milk and honey, bread and wine; or the sensation of walking barefoot upon mosaic floors may have saturated the initiates' senses of smell, taste, and touch, even as their sense of sight was overwhelmed by the visual display of the baptistery interior or the imagined return to a prelapsarian, paradisiacal condition. The materiality of the baptismal accountrements, therefore, served as the agency for the baptistery's own performativity. And as catechumens envisioned the baptismal font as the intersection of the rivers of paradise, the ciborium or cupolas as the dome of heaven, or the pavement upon which they tread as the verdant landscape of the Garden of Eden, they projected onto these features a degree of *pathema* that activated the structures as animate, indeed living, objects within the salvation narrative. In their mimesis, they became, as Pentcheva describes relief icons, "a material incarnation of the ineffable paradise."[49]

There is a reciprocity in this relationship between object and initiate that is central to the performativity of the baptismal rite. Pentcheva argues for a reciprocal relationship between Christ and his icon or even an emperor and his likeness on a coin.[50] Although the identity is the same, the nature of the representation is quite different. As the icon becomes an imprint of divine presence, the viewer is ushered into a liminal space where binaries of carnal/spiritual or material/immaterial are broken down and a metaphysical communion is achieved. The same phenomenon occurs within the Early Christian baptistery as initiates perceive their surroundings as

[49] Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," 645.
[50] Ibid., 637. Pentcheva later argues that the concept of reciprocity between individual and likeness is best exemplified in the plastic arts, where the materiality of surface and production reflect more accurately the Byzantine understanding of divine presence as imprint.

material, incarnational imprints of a celestial existence, even understanding their corporeal bodies as mere reflections of a future, incorporeal reality.

### *Piercing the Veil:* Perichoresis *as Model for Epiphany in Baptismal Space*

The architectural setting of Early Christian baptism was not designed only for human actors or agents upon the liturgical stage. It actively solicited divine presence as an equal and active partner in the dramatic reenactment of the Edenic return or the rebirth of the catechumen into a new life within the body of Christ. Baptistery mosaics, such as those in the cupolas of the Orthodox and Arian baptisteries at Ravenna (figs. 1.3, 1.22) or the Gospel narrative mosaics of the life of Christ in San Giovanni in fonte in Naples (fig. 1.23) sustained the focus on Christ, whose own baptism, of course, in addition to the Great Commission in Mt. 28.19–20, validated the centrality of the ritual as the true gateway for entering the Christian community.

Christ, however, was also understood as the divine and ever-present witness to the ceremony. In the Orthodox and Arian baptisteries, Christ occupies the central position in the cupola roundel, which effectively collapses historical and present time into a singular moment, whereby the catechumen is remade in the image of Christ, living out an imagined context of Christ himself in the Jordan River, with the priest or bishop of Ravenna serving as John the Baptist. In the Orthodox Baptistery, Christ's presence is further asserted through the *hetoimasia*, which offers the promise of his physical return, and the scenes of the *Traditio Legis* and Christ trampling the lion and serpent (fig. 1.24) among the stucco sculpture just below the cupola signal the ongoing authority of Christ over sin and death, divine law, and the very salvation offered through the waters below.

In the sixth-century baptistery constructed inside the catacomb of Ponziano in Rome (figs. 1.25–1.26), a bust of Christ gazes down at the catechumen in the

baptismal font from the vault above the staircase leading into the water, giving the impression of divine epiphany, as Christ bears witness to the very moment when the catechumen enters metaphysically into the symbolic body of Christ himself, the Church.[51] Although the catacomb of Ponziano is not unique in having a baptistery within a funerary context, it is unique in having one incorporated into the *loculi* tombs themselves. The baptismal font is completely surrounded by burial plots. The living literally were baptized in front of the dead; but in theological terms, the dead became the spiritual forebears in the faith, saints constituting the heavenly host of witnesses as Christ presides over the entrance to the space. Baptizing initiates in a subterranean baptistery surrounded by the dead certainly would have reinforced the association between baptism and death and resurrection in a manner so palpable that no above-ground baptistery could match it.

Rendering Christ as visible presence within the baptistery helped facilitate epiphany in the mystical rite, and Christ's dual nature provided the justification for depicting him in a recognizably human form; but he was not the sole divine witness. Within the Christian Godhead of the Trinity, it was far more difficult to articulate the real presence of God or the Holy Spirit within a performative space. A dove had long been accepted as an iconographical symbol for the Holy Spirit, but typically only in narrative scenes of Christ's baptism in the earliest centuries of Christian art. Considering that nearly every extant baptismal catechesis or liturgical formulation from approximately the third to seventh century mentions the requirement of a confession of faith addressed to the Trinity during the baptismal rite, it can be

[51] Cf. Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1903), 109, 565–566, and vol. 2, plate 257; Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, "Considerazioni sulla funzione del cosiddetto battistero di Ponziano sulla via Portuense," in *Il Lazio tra antichità e medioevo: studi in memoria di Jean Coste*, eds. Zaccaria Mari, Maria Teresa Petrara, and Maria Sperandio (Rome: Quasar, 1999), 323–332; and Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 293, cat. no. 868.

assumed that the Trinity was envisioned as a real presence within the baptistery. Representing this presence pictorially, however, presented a distinct challenge since God the Father and the Holy Spirit lacked the same corporeal form that Christ assumed at the Incarnation. It was precisely in attempting to resolve this challenge that at least one baptistery in Late Antiquity, that of Albenga along the Ligurian coastline in Italy, created a visual paradigm of Trinitarian movement for understanding the two-way, reciprocal relationship of epiphany: Just as the invisible, immaterial divine could permeate the space of the visible, material baptistery, so too could the catechumen, through the development of spiritual vision, see through the veil that separated the two worlds and engage the divine as an active agent rather than merely a passive recipient.

The catechumen's ability to experience this type of epiphany and transgress the permeable membrane of terrestrial and celestial reality within the baptistery was akin to the interpenetrative, rotational movement used to describe the Trinity. *Perichoresis* (περιχώρησις),[52] as it was termed by Greek theologians in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages to describe Trinitarian relational movement, was employed in discussions of the Trinity or the relationship between particular members of the Trinity from as early as the fourth century, eventually culminating in John of Damascus' eighth-century treatise, *De fide orthodoxa*, which provides the earliest

[52] Caution should be taken here not to confuse the meaning of *perichoresis* and its verbal form, περιχωρέω, with the similar-sounding, but quite distinct, περιχορεύω or χορεύω, from which the word *choros* (χορός, "dance") is derived. Increasingly, popular, contemporary theology on "Trinitarian dance" has confused the two terms, ascribing a somewhat romanticized analogy of choreographed, dance-like movement to the Trinity in medieval discourse, but this is a philological fallacy, even if the idea of circular movement is inherent in each cognate. For the related but distinct concept of *choros* in medieval discourse and art, see Nicoletta Isar, "The Dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine χορός," *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (2003): 179–204; idem, ΧΟΡΟΣ: Dancing into the Sacred Space of Chora. An Inquiry into the Choir of Dance from the Chora," *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 199–224; and idem, "Imperial ΧΟΡΟΣ: A Spatial Icon of Time as Eternity," in *Spatial Icons*, 143–166. See also Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon*, 155–182.

systematic discussion of *perichoresis* and Trinitarian movement.[53] *Perichoresis* implied a form of interpenetration and interweaving, with God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit moving fluidly through one another as though engaged in a rhythmic, rotational motility.

Although the theological nuances of the word *perichoresis* would not appear for another 200 years after the Albenga baptistery was constructed, the incipient ideas that would later define *perichoresis* were already in development among fourth- and fifth-century writers, and those ideas had already found expression within an expanding visual vocabulary in Early Christian art. Trinitarian thought in Early Christianity had begun to emphasize *perichoresis* long before the term actually settled into its current form. Gregory of Nazianzus, for instance, describes the Trinity as

---

[53] The term περιχώρησις or its verbal form, περιχωρέω, was first employed in a Christian context by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistola*, 101, in the fourth century, but his use was limted to a discussion of the titles of Christ and the "intermingling" of his two natures. Nevertheless, Gregory implies a similar form of reciprocity inherent to later ideas of *perichoretic* interpenetration in Maximus the Confessor, Pseudo-Cyril, and John of Damascus. Indeed, Pseudo-Cyril seems to have been influenced by Gregory's usage when he more fully describes the Trinitarian identity in *De sacrosancta trinitate*. Gregory of Nyssa, a contemporary of the fourth century, employs semilar terminology to articulate Trinitarian interpenetration and reciprocity. On the development of the concept of *perichoresis* in Early Christian theology, see August Deneffe, "Perichoresis, circumincessio, circuminsessio. Eine terminologische Untersuchung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 47, no. 4 (1923): 497–532; Leonard Prestige, "Perichoreo and Perichoresis in the Fathers," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1928): 242–252; Julian Stead, "*Perichoresis* in the Christological Chapters of the *De Trinitate* of Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria," *Dominican Studies* 6 (1953): 12–20; Peter Stemmer, "*Perichorese*. Zur Geschichte eines Begriffs," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 27 (1983): 9–55; Verna Harrison, "Perichoresis in the Greek Fathers," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1991): 53–65; John P. Egan, "Primal Cause and Trinitarian Perichoresis in Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration* 31.14," *Studia Patristica* 27 (1991): 21–28; idem, "Towards Trinitarian Perichoresis: Saint Gregory the Theologian, Oration 31.14," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 39, no. 1 (1994): 83–93; Daniel F. Stramara, Jr., "Gregory of Nyssa's Terminology for Trinitarian Perichoresis," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 3 (1998): 257–263; Richard Cross, "Perichoresis, Deification, and Christological Predication in John of Damascus," *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000): 69–124; Emmanuel Durand, *La périchorèse des personnes divines. Immanence mutuelle, réciprocité et communion* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2005), 19–38; Christopher A. Beeley, "Divine Causality and the Monarchy of God the Father in Gregory of Nazianzus," *Harvard Theological Review* 100, no. 2 (2007): 199–214; Dănuț Mănăstireanu, "Perichoresis and the Early Christian Doctrine of God," *Archæus* 11–12 (2007–2008): 61–93; Elena Vishnevskaya, "Perichoresis in the Context of Divinization: Maximus the Confessor's Vision of a 'Blessed and Most Holy Embrace,'" Ph.D. diss. (Drew University, 2011); Durand, "Perichoresis: A Key Concept for Balancing Trinitarian Theology," in *Rethinking Trinitarian Theology: Disputed Questions and Contemporary Issues in Trinitarian Theology*, eds. Giulio Maspero and Robert J. Wozniak (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 177–192; Brian T. Scalise, "Perichoresis in Gregory of Nazianzen and Maximus the Confessor," *Eleutheria* 2, no. 1 (2012): 58–76; and Charles C. Twombly, Perichoresis *and Personhood: God, Christ, and Salvation in John of Damascus*. Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2015.

three distinct suns whose intermingling and unification create a singular light source. He then immediately states that when one looks upon the Godhead as the totality of that intermingled light, one sees a singular entity, but when each entity is examined individually, then three distinct beings are discerned.[54]

The Greek word *perichoresis* was not introduced into Latin until the twelfth century, when Burgundio of Pisa translated John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa* into Latin, rendering *perichoresis* as *circumincessio*.[55] Long before the twelfth century, however, clerics from the Latin West would almost certainly have been familiar with Trinitarian *perichoresis*, either in its original Greek formulation or at the very least the relational movement between divine persons that the word communicated. The First Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381 was convened largely as a forum to discuss and subsequently establish an orthodox position on the nature of the Trinity. The council was well attended by Western bishops or their proxies, and the council's decisions were distributed widely throughout Byzantine and Western Roman bishoprics. Moreover, this Trinitarian orthodoxy was affirmed at subsequent ecumenical councils in the fifth and sixth centuries. Latin theologians, such as Augustine, were also well aware of the philosophical principles of Trinitarian orthodoxy that were being promulgated in the East during the late-fourth and fifth centuries, even if they used neither *perichoresis* nor *circumincessio* to describe the divine relationship. In Book 9 of *De Trinitate*, for example, Augustine sees not

[54] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio*, 31.14. On the Trinitarian discourse of this oration, see especially A. Theodorou, "Light as Image and Symbol in the Theology of Gregory Nazionzos," *Theologia* 47 (1976): 253–262; Egan, "Primal Cause and Trinitarian Perichoresis," 21–28; idem, "Towards Trinitarian Perichoresis," 83–93; Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ch. 4; and Scalise, "Perichoresis in Gregory of Nazianzen and Maximus the Confessor," 62ff. Theodorou and Scalise argue that the language of the passage shows an incipient understanding of what would eventually become known as Trinitarian *perichoresis*. Egan, however, objects, and Beeley remains cautious in comparing Gregory's understanding of *perichoresis* with that of Pseudo-Cyril and John of Damascus two centuries later, based on certain fundamental differences in viewing the agency of God the Father.
[55] Burgundio of Pisa, *Expositio fidei orthodoxae*.

merely the *imago Dei* in humanity, but the *imago Trinitatis*. Humanity was created not in the image of God but in the image of the entire Trinity, with the human mind, knowledge, and love (or *mens*, *notitia*, and *amor*) as imprints of this Trinitarian image. And within the mind itself, he proposes memory, intellect, and will (or *memoria*, *intellectus*, and *voluntas*) as not only further evidence for this Trinitarian image, but also an example of how each is interwoven and interpenetrative, distinct in its individual composition but sharing the same essence of the mind.[56] Although a specific term did not exist in the West for Trinitarian movement as interpenetration and permeability, Latin theologians in Late Antiquity nevertheless found ways to visualize it.

Baptism was intended as epiphany. The interior space of the Early Christian baptistery, therefore, was transformed into a *limen*, a threshold that balanced on the edge of physical and metaphysical realities, where catechumens could paradoxically glimpse the immaterial divine even as they remained rooted firmly within a material context. However, these mystical spaces were permeable and the divine-human exchange reciprocal. The earthly and heavenly worlds were often thought to move harmoniously through one another inside the baptistery, and as catechumens gazed upon the divine, the divine gazed back at them.[57] In this way, as the heavenly bodies of the Trinity were visualized *perichoretically*—that is, in the act of an

[56] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 9. Note, however, that Augustine was staunchly opposed to representing the Trinity pictorially, and even mental images of the Trinity were both insufficient and problematic for understanding its nature—cf. *Epistola*, 120.2.7 and 12.

[57] On the role of epiphany in the ritualized spaces of antiquity and Early Christianity, see especially Elpidius Pax, *'Επιφάνεια. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie* (Munich: K. Zink, 1955); F. E. Brenk, "Greek Epiphanies and Paul on the Road to Damaskos," in *The Notion of "Religion" in Comparative Research*, ed. Ugo Bianchi (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1994), 415–424; Margaret M. Mitchell, "Epiphanic Evolutions in Earliest Christianity," *Illinois Classical Studies* 29 (2004): 183–204; Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford, eds. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Verity Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and John R. Clarke, "Constructing the Spaces of Epiphany in Ancient Greek and Roman Visual Culture," in *Text, Image and Christians in a Graeco-Roman World*, eds. Aliou Cissé Niang and Carolyn Osiek (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 257–279.

interpenetrative movement—they established a paradigm for catechumens to understand their own *perichoresis* within baptismal space as they imagined themselves weaving in and out of terrestrial and celestial realities through a seemingly fluid veil that afforded them a vision of the eschatological paradise that awaited them after death. This interaction with the divine through a form of both imagined bodily movement and actual physical procession would have correlated with the catechumens' Trinitarian confession inside the baptistery, effectively transforming them into *imagines Trinitatis*, which also confirmed their union with the Christian Godhead and made them imitators of its mystical form of interpenetrative movement.[58]

The early-sixth century Albenga baptistery (figs. 1.27–1.31)[59] is the only surviving Early Christian structure where Trinitarian *perichoresis* is articulated visually as an integral component of the liturgy. Employing a fairly sophisticated abstract composition rather than figural elements,[60] the mosaic of the barrel vault over

[58] Much has been written on Early Christian theologies of the *imago Trinitatis*, particularly in the writings of Augustine. For a summary of the current state of research and corresponding bibliography, see Paola Marone, "L'uomo *imago trinitatis* nella produzione letteraria di Agostino," in *Elaborare l'esperienza di Dio* (Rome: 2011), preprint available at http://mondodomani.org/teologia/marone2011.htm.

[59] Although the baptistery was previously dated to the late-fifth or early-sixth century by Mario Marcenaro, Olof Brandt has recently determined that the foundation date could not have been earlier than the sixth century, based on analysis of the amphorae used in the construction of the baptistery's original cupola. Cf. Olof Brandt, *Battisteri oltre la pianta. Gli alzati di nove battisteri paleocristiani in Italia* (Vatican City: PIAC, 2012), 315–316; and Brandt et al., "Photomodelling as an Instrument for Stratigraphic Analysis of Standing Buildings: The Baptistery of Albenga," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 90 (2014): 265.

[60] The two "Trinity Sarcophagi" from the first half of the fourth century—one at the Musée de l'Arles and the other, so-called "Dogmatic Sarcophagus," at the Museo Pio Cristiano at the Vatican—feature earlier attempts to represent the Trinity, but the sculpted reliefs are figural, showing all three persons of the Trinity clustered together and with the same physiognomies, similar to later-medieval and early-modern representations of the Godhead, such as Andrei Rublev's famous Trinity icon (ca. 1425–1427), commissioned for the Trinity Lavra (monastery) of St. Sergius in Moscow and now in the State Tretyakov Gallery. The scene of the hospitality of Abraham, or *Philoxenia*, was also commonly interpreted as Trinitarian in Early Christian exegesis. On the Early Christian sarcophagi and Trinitarian thought, see especially Jensen, "The Economy of the Trinity at the Creation of Adam and Eve," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7, no. 4 (1999): 527–546. See also Adelheid Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 1 (1938): 42–52; Jean-Maurice Rouquette, "Trois nouveaux sarcophages chrétiens de Trinquetaille (Arles)," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie de Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 118, no. 2 (1974): 254–273; Yves Christe, "À propos du sarcophage a

the northeastern interior niche, opposite the current entrance to the baptistery,[61] displays a tripartite group of interlocking *chi-rho* monograms imprinted upon an equally tripartite gradient-blue nimbus. In spite of its well-preserved and unique mosaic, Albenga is frequently overlooked in discussions of Early Christian art and liturgy. The baptistery appears far more frequently in studies of Early Christian architecture than iconography, and consequently, the history of scholarship on the baptistery has been dominated by archaeological discussions of its architecture and the current state of preservation after Alfredo d'Andrade's restoration of 1900–1901.[62] What little has been said of the baptistery mosaics has focused largely on the

---

double registre récemment découvert à Arles," *Journal des savants* 1 (1975): 76–80; Deborah Markow, "Some Born-Again Christians of the Fourth Century," *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 650–655; and Umberto Utro, "Per un approccio interdisciplinare ai sarcofagi paleocristiani: la Trinità sul sarcofago 'dogmatico' dei Musei Vaticani," in *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra Tardoantico ed Altomedioevo*, vol. 1, eds. Rosa Maria Bonacasa Carra and Emma Vitale (Palermo: C. Saladino, 2007), 267–282. For a dissenting voice on interpreting Early Christian figural repsentations as the Trinity, see Josef Engemann, "Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphisch Trinitätsbilder?" *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 19 (1976): 157–172, repeated in Chris Entwistle and Noël Adams, eds., *Gems of Heaven: Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity, c. AD 200–600* (London: British Museum, 2012), 211–212.

[61] The baptistery originally had two entrances, including one on the north that linked the baptistery to the corresponding cathedral (presently San Michele Arcangelo). This entrance, however, was destroyed by Angelo de Marchi in 1900, under the authority of Alfredo d'Andrade, leaving only the current southwestern entrance, which is original to the baptistery. See Mario Marcenaro, "Il Battistero di Albenga: Storia di un restauro," *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 188–190.

[62] On the archaeology of the Albenga baptistery and the history of its conservation, see Valeria Sciarretta, *Il Battistero di Albenga* (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1977); Mario Marcenaro, "Alfredo d'Andrade e il mosaico del Battistero di Albenga: un restauro scientifico del primo novecento," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 1 (1987): 203–242; idem, "Il Battistero di Albenga: Storia di un restauro," 179–242; Danilo Mazzoleni, "L'iscrizione del Battistero di Albenga," *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 257–267; Francisca Pallarés, "Alcune considerazioni sulle anfore del Battistero di Albenga," *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 269–306; Nicolò Palmarini, "Simbolismo e gematria nel mosaico del Battistero di Albenga," *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 243–256; Mario Mirabella Roberti, "Le strutture del Battistero di Albenga," *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 173–178; Marcenaro, "L'opificio delle pietre dure in Liguria (1899–1900): il Battistero di Albenga," *OPD Restauro* 1, 2nd series (1989): 223–238; idem, *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga. Le origini del Cristianesimo nella Liguria marittima* (Recco: Le Mani, 1994); Tiziano Mannoni and Aurora Cagnana, "Archeologia dei monumenti. L'analisi stratigrafica del battistero paleocristiano di Albenga (SV)," *Archeologia dell'architettura* 1 (1996): 83–100; Marcenaro, "Il mosaico del Battistero di Albenga. Interpretazione iconografica, iconologica e restauro," in *Atti del III Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico, Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*, eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi (Bordighera: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 1996), 39–62; Alessandro Frondoni, "Recenti restauri e indagini al battistero di Albenga," in *L'edificio battesimale in Italia*, vol. 2, ed. Daniela Gandolfi (Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2001), 844–865; Marcenaro and Frondoni, eds., *Tra Milano e la Provenza: guida agli edifici cristiani della Liguria Marittima tra IV e X secolo*, Itinerari liguri, Musei e Monumenti 6 (Albenga: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Sezioni di Genova e Albenga, 2006); Costanza Fusconi and Roberto Sabelli, "Il Battistero

dedicatory inscription of martyrs that appears over the entrance to the niche as early evidence for the development of the cult of saints in Liguria and Piemonte and the influence of the diocese of nearby Milan. The unusual iconography of the larger vault composition has been discussed only cursorily, and the relationship between early baptismal liturgies and this prominent Trinitarian emblem within the baptistery has been overlooked almost entirely.

What exists now of the extant barrel-vault mosaics at Albenga, after d'Andrade's intervention, is a large *chi-rho* monogram composed of golden-yellow and white marble tesserae that is contained within a circular field of light-blue glass mosaic. The adjoining three fields of increasingly darker-blue glass tesserae not only encase the arms of the monogram as they extend outward, transgressing the pictorial borders that attempt to circumscribe them, but also they frame the entire imprint of the monogram itself, creating a tripartite, repeating emblem that is both discrete in three individual compositional fields and united into one image with seemingly permeable boundaries.[63] In other words, there are three distinct *chi-rho* monograms

---

di Albenga: indagini per la conservazione e proposte d'intervento," in *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006* (Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007), 599–636; Gandolfi and Frondoni, "Recenti indagini archeologiche nel battistero 'monumentale' di Albenga. Note di scavo," in *Albenga città episcopale*, 555–598; Silvia Lusuardi Siena and Furio Sacchi, "Gli edifici battesimali di Milano e di Albenga," in *Albenga città episcopale*, 677–704; Marcenaro, "I 'due' battisteri di Albenga: alcune considerazioni," in *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra tardoantico ed altomedioevo. Atti del IX Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Agrigento 20–25 novembre 2004*, vol. 1, eds. Rosa Maria Bonacasa Carra and Emma Vitale (Palermo: Carlo Saladino Editore, 2007), 709–744; idem, "Il Battistero di Albenga: tutela, ricerca e restauro tra otto e novecento," in *Albenga città episcopale*, 637–674; Gandolfi and Marcenaro, "Albenga, battistero 'monumentale': una nuova scoperta," *Temporis signa: Archeologia della tarda antichità e del medioevo* 3 (2008): 199–202; Brandt, "L'enigmata muratura 'B' del Battistero di Albenga," in *Marmoribus vestita: miscellanea in onore di Federico Guidobaldi*, vol. 1, Studi di antichità cristiana 63, eds. Olof Brandt and Philippe Pergola (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2011), 263–286; Marcenaro, "Ajnalov, Wilpert, Raimondi, Tabanelli e il mosaico di Albenga. Un acquerello nelle collezioni del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 87–88 (2011): 285–316; Brandt, *Battisteri oltre la pianta*, 272–317; and Brandt et al., "Photomodelling as an Instrument for Stratigraphic Analysis," 259–293.

[63] On the chemical composition of the tesserae, both original and from the 1900–1901 reconstruction, see Enrico Franceschi, Dion Nole, and Stefano Vassallo, "Il mosaico del battistero di Albenga. Indagini in fluorescenza X (XRF) e altre tecniche non invasive e micro invasive," in *Ravenna musiva*, eds. Cesare Fiori and Mariangela Vandini (Bologna: Ante Quem, 2010), 483–496.

layered on top of one another, and yet, taken as a comprehensive emblem, there is but one large *chi-rho* symbol. Surrounding the monogram are twelve white doves; immediately above the monogram is a small orb containing a golden cross; and then the entire compositional field of the vault is filled with eighty-six eight-pointed white stars against a deep, lapis-colored background that provides a cosmological frame for this series of interpenetrating blue spheres that suggest circular, rotational movement.

The mosaic continues into the lunette against the back wall of the niche, above the window, where two lambs flanking a jeweled cross in a paradisiacal landscape are depicted, with a thick rinceaux border framing the architecture of the niche. On the underside of the window arch is a white anchor within a gradient blue mandorla similar to that in the *chi-rho* composition in the vault. And over the entrance to the niche, framing the arch, is a fragmentary inscription that Pietro Toesca in 1912 first reconstructed as "...NOMINAMVS QVORVM HIC RELIQVIAE SVNT," or "We call upon [them] whose relics are here."[64] Both the reconstruction and interpretation of this inscription are problematic, but Toesca's reading has nevertheless been accepted by most scholars over the last century without a significant challenge.[65] Below this inscription appears a list of martyrs' names, including Sts. Stephen, John the Evangelist, Lawrence, Nabor, Protasius, Felix, and Gervasius, with the two missing names on the lowest register generally believed to have been St. Victor and Sixtus I, who was both pope and mentor to St. Lawrence, whose name appears immediately above.[66] The niche mosaics were originally part of a much larger

[64] Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1912), 22.
[65] On the mosaic inscriptions within the baptistery, see Mazzoleni, "L'iscrizione del Battistero di Albenga," 257–267.
[66] Dmitrij Vlasévič Ajnalov, who visited the baptistery in 1898, prior to the restoration, could only see "ANI..... IOHANNE LAVRENTINAVORIS PROTA...." in the extant tesserae displaying the names of martyrs and saints. The text above the names was illegible. Cf. Ajnalov, "Мозаики древней крещальни въ Альбенгв," Византийский Временник 8 (1901): 519. Eugène Müntz, writing a decade earlier, could see even less of the inscription. Cf. Müntz, "Notes sur les mosaïques chrétiennes de l'Italie, IX. Les mosaïques de Siponte, de Capoue, de Verceil, d'Olona, et d'Albenga," *Revue*

pictorial program covering the adjacent walls and pavement surrounding the baptismal font, of which only small patches of tesserae now remain that show birds perched among acanthus tendrils (fig. 1.29). Toesca also reported that he saw two additional words in white mosaic tesserae among the severely damaged portion of the left outer niche wall—S[AN]C[TV]S and FECIT—which may indicate that a donor name once appeared alongside the niche mosaics.[67]

As Marcenaro and Nicolò Palmarini have noted, the Albenga *chi-rho* monogram is by no means unusual in its most basic form.[68] *Chi-rho* and *alpha-omega* emblems were some of the most common symbols in Early Christianity for representing the name of Christ and his eschatological declaration of eternality in Rev. 22.13. The *chi-rho*, in particular, began to appear regularly in Early Christian churches and baptisteries, often against a starry sky, such as the mosaic cupola of San Giovanni in fonte in Naples (fig. 1.32). Similar cosmic backgrounds frame crosses in contemporaneous churches, chapels, and mausolea, most notably in Ravenna.[69] In each instance, the cross, as signifier of Christ, presides over the entire cosmos, including the space occupied by the viewer below, reminding viewers that religious ritual and devotion are made manifest to Christ, the divine, cosmic witness.

In the case of Albenga, the *chi-rho* almost certainly played a central role in the baptismal liturgy. From late-fourth and early-fifth century catecheses, including those

---

*archéologique* 17 (1891): 85–86. On Ajnalov's visit and subsequent contribution to research on the Albenga baptistery, see Marcenaro, "Dmitrij Vlasévič Ajnalov: il 'Viaggio in Italia' di uno storico dell'arte russa sul finire dell'Ottocento," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 58 (2003): 189–214; and idem, "Ajnalov, Wilpert, Raimondi, Tabanelli e il mosaico di Albenga," 285–316.

[67] Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*, 23.

[68] Palmarini, "Simbolismo e gematria nel mosaico del Battistero di Albenga," 243–256; Marcenaro, *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga*, 127–191; and idem, "Il mosaico del Battistero di Albenga," 39–62.

[69] The central dome of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, the apse of the Cappella di Sant'Andrea in the Palazzo Arcivescovile, and the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe all feature this motif.

of Ambrose in nearby Milan,[70] we know that catechumens faced west inside the baptistery as they renounced Satan, then turned east—the direction of the mosaic at Albenga—while making a confession to the Trinity.[71] The catechumens inside the Albenga baptistery would have faced this *chi-rho* composition while standing in the baptismal font, ~0.9 meters below the floor level,[72] giving them a clear sight-line of the barrel-vault mosaic as they offered their Trinitarian confessions.

The *chi-rho* emblem they would have viewed in the niche renders the nature of the Trinity as abstract symbol, but the blue mandorla emanating from the center of the *chi-rho*, as well as the elements surrounding the monogram, further accentuate Trinitarian allusions.[73] Like the arms of the *chi-rho*, the blue mandorla consists of

---

[70] From at least the mid-fifth century, Albenga was almost certainly subject to or significantly influenced by the see of Milan, for Bishop Eusebius of Milan's letter to Pope Leo I, dated to 451, mentions a certain Quintius, bishop of Albenga (Roman Albingaunum), who had signed the letter from the Synod of Milan in 451 that declared the Christological teachings of Nestorius and Eutyches heretical. Other bishops from Piemonte, including nearby Tortona and Piacenza, also signed the letter, showing the reach of Milan's regional influence over northeastern Italy. On Milan's theological influence in Early Christianity, see Alžběta Ž. Filipová, "Circulation of Blood, Clay, and Ideas: The Distribution of Milanese Relics in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," *Convivium* 1, no. 1 (2014): 64–75. Marcenaro has also made a connection between Albenga and Milan based on the names of the martyrs in the Albenga baptistery and their apparent relics, which were likely imported from Milan. The martyrs listed at Albenga maintained a strong center of cultic devotion at Milan, still evident in spaces such as the mosaic cupola of the contemporaneous Sacello di San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro at Sant'Ambrogio—cf. Marcenaro, *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga*; and idem, "Il mosaico del Battistero di Albenga, 39–62.

[71] Ambrose of Milan, *De mysteriis*. With Matt. 28.19 as the precedent, baptismal confessions of allegiance to the Trinity had become common practice in Mediterranean and Levantine churches by at least the second century. The role of the Trinity in baptism, however, would grow increasingly prominent, so that initiates were often baptized three times, baptismal exorcisms were performed in threes, and the water of the baptismal font would at times be blessed in triplicate.

[72] Cf. Marcenaro, *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga*, 87–126, for a full discussion of the interior architecture. For the design and depth of the font, see Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 172, cat. no. 326; and Brandt et al., "Photomodelling as an Instrument for Stratigraphic Analysis," fig. 24.

[73] Thomas Mathews has attributed the advent of gradient-blue or -green mandorlas in *Maiestas Domini* iconography or other scenes of Christian epiphany to the appropriation of Central Asian Buddhist iconography, which began using similar mandorlas in devotional images of the Buddha several centuries before Christianity had established a visual vocabulary—cf. Thomas F. Mathews, "The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Ēǰmiacin Gospel (Erevan, Matendaran MS 2374, *olim* 229)," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, eds. Nina G. Garsoïan, et al. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 208–209; and idem, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, revised ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 116–118. Although eastern Christians likely had contact with Buddhists and Buddhist iconography in Late Antiquity via the Silk Route, there is no need to look so far afield for the influence of gradient-blue mandorlas and nimbi in the Early Christian West, or even most of the Byzantine East for that matter. The iconography of Apollo in the Greco-Roman pantheon often included a gradient-blue nimbus, such as the fresco of a seated Apollo from the House of Adriadne at Pompeii, now in the Museo

three distinct yet unified concentric rings composed of blue glass tesserae that grow darker in hue the closer they get to the ring of doves and starry sky. This Trinitarian motif occurs elsewhere in the sixth century, such as in the dome mosaic over the high altar at Santa Maria della Croce in Casarano (fig. 1.33), where the central golden cross is surrounded by three distinct fields of gradient-blue tesserae, transitioning from a lighter, aquamarine hue to an increasingly dark lapis color in the outermost ring. The same motif appears less conspicuously at San Vitale in Ravenna (fig. 1.34), where the angels on the north and south walls of the presbyterium are shown holding a *clipeus* with a jeweled cross, from whose arms hang double *omegas* rather than *alpha* and *omega*, most likely alluding to the eschatological, apocalyptic rendering of Christ Cosmocrator in the apse (fig. 1.35), where he is shown holding a scroll with the seven seals from Revelation. The angels' cross is encased within a field of blue tesserae rendered as concentric circles that grow darker toward the outer edges. Even in the apse mosaic of Christ seated on the *orbis mundi*, the gradient blue tesserae of the sphere are differentiated by three distinct shades of blue glass. This is also the case in the apse mosaic of San Teodoro in Rome (fig. 1.36), executed in the seventh century but heavily restored in the seventeenth.[74] Here the orb is presented in three shades of blue tesserae that are punctuated by 24 gold stars. Even the number of stars present in the composition may allude to Trinitarian numerology, with 24 being divisible by 8, the number commonly affiliated with Christ's resurrection in Early Christian theology, and 3, the number of the Trinity itself.

---

Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; or fourth-century CE pavement mosaics of Apollo, Dionysos, and the personification of Theogonia (the geneaology of the gods) from the House of Aion at Paphos on Cyprus. Moreover, by the mid-fourth century, Early Christianity had already adopted the gradient-blue nimbus as a principal characteristic of the iconography of Christ, who appears with the attribute in both the eastern and western niche mosaics of Santa Costanza in Rome.

[74] Cf. Claudia Bolgia, "Il mosaico absidale di San Teodoro a Roma: problemi storici e restauri attraverso disegni e documenti inediti," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): 317–351.

At least two sixth-century texts, roughly contemporary with the Albenga baptistery, have survived, each describing a composition similar to Albenga's gradient orb design but in the Byzantine East. Choricius of Gaza, in his *Laudatio Marciani*, describes the church of St. Sergius in Gaza, noting that the porch contained a sculpted relief of concentric circles, the central one bearing "the symbol of the Saviour's Passion."[75] And John of Gaza, in his ekphrasis on a fresco he saw in the winter baths of either Gaza or Antioch, describes a complex circular diagram whose outer ring was divided into four compartments with an assortment of personifications related to the seasons.[76] Based on John's description and Carolina Cupane's reconstruction of the fresco, the center of the composition included a tripartite group of concentric circles, at the center of which appeared a cross whose arms transgressed the borders of each circle.[77] Moreover, the language that John uses to glorify God emphasizes circularity, rotation, and dynamic movement. He writes, "Creator of everything, guardian, God-born,[78] leader of the universe, spiraling time celebrates

[75] Choricius of Gaza, *Laudatio Marciani*, 1.17ff, in Cyril Mango, ed., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 313–1453* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 60ff.
[76] John of Gaza, *Descriptio Tabulae Mundi*. Greek text and/or commentary available in Paul Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius: Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912), 135–212; Gerhard Krahmer, *De tabula mundi ab Joanne Gazaeo descripta*, Ph.D. diss. (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1920); Glanville Downey, "John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and the Karpoi," in *Antioch on-the-Orontes, II*, vol. 2, eds. George W. Elderkin et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), 205–212; George M. A. Hanfmann, "The Seasons in John of Gaza's Tabula Mundi," *Latomus* 3, no. 2 (1939): 111–118; Carolina Cupane, "Il ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΣ ΠΙΝΑΞ di Giovanni di Gaza. Una proposta di ricostruzione," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979): 195–207; Luc Renaut, "La description d'une croix cosmique par Jean de Gaza, poète palestinien du VIe siècle," in *Iconographica : Mélanges offerts à Piotr Skubiszewski, Professeur à l'Université de Poitiers et à l'Université de Varsovie*, eds. Robert Favreau and Marie-Hélène Debiès (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1999), 211–220; idem, "Les déclamations d'ekphraseis: une réalité vivante à Gaza au VI$^{e}$ siècle," in *Gaza dans l'Antiquité Tardive: archéologie, rhétorique et histoire*, ed. Catherine Saliou (Salerno: Helios, 2005), 197–220; Rina Talgam, "Johannes of Gaza's *Tabula Mundi* Revisited," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, eds. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 91–118; and Tomasz Polański, "Gerhard Krahmer: A Forgotten Latin Commentator of John of Gaza's *Tabula Mundi*," *Classica Cracoviensia* 14 (2011): 267–286.
[77] Cupane, "Il ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΣ ΠΙΝΑΞ di Giovanni di Gaza," 207.
[78] The word θεηγενές, in addition to John's later use of τόκον, both related to birthing imagery, suggests a fixed point of origin for God (or Christ) rather than the orthodox position of eternality and co-equality among persons of the Trinity. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, 167, n. 19, attempted to reconcile this problem by suggesting that John was addressing God the Father

your self-generative birth with song, [you who are the] wise root of life; for you rotate around in a distributing circle, an axial, God-containing vortex, and you watch over the rudder of life regenerated."[79]

At the same moment that sixth-century churches were developing a visual repertoire for nonfigural, abstract expressions of the Trinity, they were also beginning to apply the repertoire to a new figural vocabulary for communicating Christ's role within the Trinity, particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant. This can be seen most famously in the mid-sixth century apse mosaic of the Transfiguration at the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai, as well as the much simpler cross in the soffit above Christ's head (fig. 1.37). Both elements of the mosaic composition contain the motif of a gradient-blue mandorla. For the central composition of the apse, however, the Incarnate Christ has replaced the more abstract symbols of the cross or *chi-rho*. For the Transfiguration scene (fig. 1.38), the blue rings emanate outward from the body of Christ—though at Sinai they progress from darker to lighter blue at the edges of the mandorla—and the rings of the mandorla are permeated by beams of white-silver light.[80] As several scholars, including Kurt Weitzmann,

---

and God the Son separately, but the syntax of the passage makes this unlikely and offers no satisfactory explanation for the choice of birthing imagery.

[79] John of Gaza, *Descriptio Tabulae Mundi*, vv. 19–23: "Παγγενέτωρ, ἐπίουρε, θεηγενές, ὄρχαμε κόσμου, σὸν τόκον αὐτοτέλεστον ἑλιξ χρόνος ὑμνοπολεύει, ῥίζα σοφὴ βιότοιο· σὺ γάρ νωμήτορι κύκλωι ἀξονίην στροφάλιγγα θεγδόχον ἀμφιελίσσεις, καὶ βιοτῆς οἴηκα παλιννόστοιο φυλάσσεις," in Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, 137; and Renaut, "La description d'une croix cosmique par Jean de Gaza, poète palestinien du VIe siècle," 213. English translation by author.

[80] A similar, albeit more restrained, composition appears on the back of the lid of the so-called Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary, produced, most likely, in Jerusalem in the sixth or seventh century and now at the Vatican. Cf. Gabriele Mietke, "Wundertätige Pilgerandenken, Reliquien und ihr Bildschmuck," in *Byzanz. Die Macht der Bilder*, eds. Michael Brandt and Arne Effenberger (Hildesheim: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1998), 40–55; Bruno Reudenbach, "Reliquien von Orten. Ein frühchristliches Reliquiart als Gedächtnisort," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, eds. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 21–41, idem, "*Loca sancta*. Zur materiellen Übertragung der heiligen Stätten," in *Jerusalem, du Schöne: Vorstellungen und Bilder einer heiligen Stadt*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach (Bern: Lang, 2008), 9–32; Herbert L. Kessler, "*Arca arcarum*: Nested Boxes and the Dynamics of Sacred Experience," *Codex Aquilarensis* 30 (2014): 83–108; Beate Fricke, "Tales from Stones, Travels through Time: Narrative and Vision in the Casket from the Vatican," *West 86th* 21, no. 2 (2014): 230–250; and Derek Krueger, "Liturgical Time and Holy Land Reliquaries in Early Byzantium," in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Cynthia Hahn and Holger Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2015), 111–131.

Fernanda de' Maffei, and Jerzy Miziołek, have noted, the numerology inherent in the beams of the mandorla and the subject of the composition—the Transfiguration, which is a liminal moment when Christ's humanity and divinity are expressed simultaneously—point to a Trinitarian context for the apse.[81] The composition, however, is not simply Trinitarian; it is also *perichoretic*. The rings of the mandorla naturally evoke a circular, rotational movement with their distinct colors blending into one another, and the rays of light emanating from Christ transgress the boundaries of each ring, as do the very feet of Christ at the bottom of the mandorla.

All of this suggests an interpenetrative, fluid movement of divine persons, not unlike the arms of the *chi-rho* in the Albenga mosaic. In a clever visual play upon the nature of epiphany in sacred space, the apse composition puts on display three layers of a theophanic vision. The viewer is first confronted by a representation of the biblical Transfiguration, which asserts itself as historical narrative, thereby allowing the viewer to remain detached, observing a singular moment when the Apostles John, Peter, and Andrew experienced their own holy vision. The second layer places the viewer in the privileged position of "reliving" the moment of the Transfiguration from inside the church by gazing up at the figure of Christ, just as the Apostles are shown doing in the composition, and imagining themselves as witnesses to the event, which potentially transcends its temporal moment and becomes an ongoing Transfiguration for anyone viewing it anew. And finally, the third layer of epiphany occurs as Christ is made to appear stepping out of the picture plane—or at the very least the mandorla that attempts to circumscribe him—and into the viewer's actual, physical space,

[81] Kurt Weitzmann, "The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 6 (1966): 392–405; Fernanda de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consustanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai. II," *Storia dell'arte* 46 (1982): 185–200; and Jerzy Miziołek, "*Transfiguratio Domini* in the Apse at Mount Sinai and the Symbolism of Light," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 42–60.

making the epiphanic communion with the divine seem transcendent and miraculous. The mosaic appears to "perform" within the ritual space, which is to say that the principal character of Christ is enlivened and activated as real presence within the space by not only the design of the composition but also by the *perichoretic* mandorla, which in itself suggests rotational, vibratory movement that primes the viewer for a mystical encounter with the divine.

Also in the sixth century, the same motif of a blue, permeable mandorla was translated into smaller, more portable media. A fragment of a double-sided icon at Mt. Sinai (fig. 1.39), which Weitzmann dated to the seventh century, shows a jeweled cross, whose arms transgress the lines of the tripartite blue mandorla that encircle it, a theme repeated by the beams of white light projecting outward from the center of the cross.[82] The highlights on the mandorla activate a sense of reflective shimmer, and the radiant beams further accentuate the illusion of movement, as though an illuminated aura rotates around the cross, creating a diagram of Trinitarian interpenetration that parallels the composition inside the Albenga baptistery.

The blue mandorla and its association with motion or divine performativity was influenced by Greco-Roman iconography for certain deities, such as Apollo, god of light, but it was equally influenced by biblical descriptions of epiphany that frequently included blue gemstones. In Ex. 24.10, as Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel ascend Mt. Sinai, they receive a vision of God himself, under whose feet appears a pavement that resembles sapphire. And in Ezekiel's epiphanic encounter with God, he describes the vault of heaven and the throne of God as resembling sapphire (Ez. 1.26; 10.1). In the New Testament, John's vision in Rev. 21.19 describes one of the foundations of the Heavenly Jerusalem as sapphire. The

[82] Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons. Vol. 1* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 42–43, cat. no. B.17. See also idem, "The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai," 392–405.

color blue, therefore, was intimately associated with divine epiphany and mystical visions both in the ancient Near East and throughout the Mediterranean. The adoption of the blue nimbus or mandorla in Early Christian art would have automatically signaled to a late-antique audience that Christ, God, or, in the case of Albenga, the Trinity itself, was associated with divinity and had been grafted into the existing visual vocabulary of epiphany in the ancient Mediterranean world.

The gem at the center of the *chi-rho* monogram at Albenga (fig. 1.31) further accentuates the allusion to epiphany and heavenly light. It seems clear that the designer of the mosaic intended to communicate the visual effect of translucence and light refraction rather than reflection. This is significant. The border of the gem is composed of bright red tesserae, interspersed on the interior bevel by six darker red tesserae that correspond approximately to the cardinal points of the *chi-rho* monogram. Unlike the imitation gems embedded in the soffit of the window, below the *chi-rho* composition in the barrel vault, the interior body of the gem within the *chi-rho* monogram has not been filled with the same colored tesserae as its outer edges. It appears empty rather than solid. Moreover, the imitation gems in the soffit contain white marble tesserae as highlights to signal the shimmer of light reflected off of the surface of the gems. The *chi-rho* gem, on the other hand, lacks all highlights to communicate reflected light. Instead, it gives an almost unimpeded view of the golden arms of the *chi-rho* itself, which suggests the translucence of something like carnelian, a stone commonly used in Roman signet rings, or a similar red gemstone superimposed over the golden cross arms.[83]

[83] On the use of gemstones in Late Antiquity, see especially Jeffrey Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*, 2nd revised ed., Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 20 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013); and Chris Entwistle and Noël Adams, eds., *Gems of Heaven: Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity, c. AD 200–600* (London: British Museum, 2012). For Early Christian allegorical interpretations of certain

The placement allows the light at the very center of the cross to radiate outward, albeit filtered through the gem. This is a surprisingly well-adapted visual parallel to Early Christian discourse on the Heavenly Jerusalem and its accessibility through the cross of Christ.[84] The image of the Heavenly Jerusalem was often associated with a jewel-encrusted cityscape in Early Christian iconography, based on the biblical description in Rev. 21, and the practice of adorning reliquaries with gemstones emerged as a sign of the heavenly paradise that martyrs and saints had inherited, and to which the Christian devotee would eventually go after death.[85] For this reason, imitation jewels are interspersed among the names of the martyrs and saints within the Albenga baptistery itself.

If the gemstone within the *chi-rho* monogram functioned as a synecdoche of what had become standardized iconography of a jeweled eschatological paradise, then the mosaic would have communicated visually the theological trope that heaven is a jewel through which the light of Christ shines upon humanity. In the Trinitarian context of the Albenga mosaic, this could be interpreted as the light of heaven being generated by the cross of Christ and disseminated by the Holy Spirit, as the *chi-rho* arms move outward toward the doves, who are almost certainly the apostles. The doves, in turn, are positioned immediately within the starry sky, as if to suggest that the Great Commission assigned to the apostles by Christ has finally fulfilled the Abrahamic covenant in Gen. 15.5, whereby salvation is offered to all of humanity.

---

gemstones, see Christel Meier, *Gemma Spiritalis: Methode und Gebrauch der Edelsteinallegorese vom frühen Christentum bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977).

[84] On the relationship between Early Christian exegesis of the Heavenly Jerusalem and pictorial representations, see especially Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte 42 (Rome: Herder, 1987).

[85] For a summary of gems and the Heavenly Jerusalem in Early Christian and medieval thought, see Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 40ff.

Indeed, in John's apocalyptic vision of heaven in Rev. 21.10–11, he even describes the light of God as resembling a rare jewel, and translucent at that.

*Conclusion*

By at least the late-fourth century, the descriptive language of transgressing permeable boundaries in Trinitarian or otherwise *perichoretic* movement was being applied to processional, bodily movement within baptismal space, as catechumens walked around the baptismal font and were beckoned to imagine themselves as new Adams and Eves reentering a prelapsarian Eden, whose gates had been reopened through the waters of baptism.[86] Baptisteries in Early Christianity were not merely architectural constructs designed to facilitate the ritual of baptism. They were both the actual and metaphysical gateways for Christian initiates entering the Church, understood symbolically as the body of Christ and its attendant faith community and physically as the primary location of Christian cult adjacent to the baptistery.

As gateways, or threholds, earthly and heavenly space were imagined as interwoven and reciprocal inside the baptistery, not unlike the persons of the Trinity, who are abstracted into the repeating *chi-rho* monogram of the Albenga baptistery; and not unlike the catechumens themselves, whose carnal senses were to be transformed into spiritual perception and their minds elevated to perceive the immaterial, heavenly reality promised to them after death, even as their corporeal bodies were rooted in an earthly context. Therefore, an image of the Trinity in *perichoretic* form or discussions of the nature of the Trinity in the baptismal liturgy may have functioned as a complementary metaphor for the construction of baptismal space, where human bodies in rotational, processional movement around the font and

[86] Cf. Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 19–113; idem, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, trans. Wulstan Hibberd (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), 22–29; and Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity*, 177–213.

within an imagined temporal and spatial divide imitated the swirling, interpenetrative movement of the Godhead.

Within Early Christian baptismal architecture, where measurable time and defined space collided with visions of paradise that eluded quantification and confinement, initiates approached the sense of *perichoresis* as they imagined themselves weaving in and out of material and immaterial realities. In the Albenga baptistery, this human *perichoresis*, consisting of both actual, corporeal movement and visions of an immaterial reality, found its complement in the *imago Trinitatis*, as the swirling, interpenetrative bodies of the holy Trinity became manifest in a visual *perichoretic* diagram above the catechumens' heads. Moreover, the staging of this rotational, permeating movement accentuated the mystery of the baptismal rite, since catechumens in orthodox dioceses were required to profess a belief in Trinitarian doctrine for communing with the divine. In this sense, the performative speech act of the Trinitarian confession worked in tandem with the ritual act of baptism itself to mediate between human and divine agents, thereby making permeable the boundaries between the material vision of the baptistery space and the immaterial vision of dwelling in paradise with Christ.

# CHAPTER 2

## Performing in Paradise: The Return to Eden in Early Christian Baptismal Rhetoric

> But you, Lord, almighty God, whose strength we do not forget, even as we extol the merits of water and proclaim the extraordinary nature of its work, receive the guilty with grace, and with your customary holiness release the captives. Restore what Adam lost in paradise, what his wife relinquished, what the excess of ravenous gluttony devoured. Provide a restorative tonic to those overcome by the bitterness of the fruit, that you might liberate mortal men from their disorders and their former ruin be reversed by your divine antidote. Wash away the filth of the squalid earth; extinguish the billowing wall, that fiery barrier of paradise. May an entrance adorned with flowers lie open to those returning to the land. May they regain the image of the divine, lost long ago by the deceit of the serpent. May they lay aside, by the purity of this stream, any indictments of sin that were assembled against them. May they arise unto rest; may they be guided unto grace, so that, being restored by the mystical waters, they may identify themselves as redeemed and reborn. Amen.[1]

The rite of baptism in Early Christianity was dynamic. It was enacted in a physical, terrestrial space that was understood as a preliminary vision of a spiritual, even celestial reality that would be revealed in its entirety to the Christian initiate after death. Baptismal catechumens were the primary witnesses to this conflation of sacred space that united heaven and earth within a series of carefully orchestrated

[1] All translations are by the author unless noted otherwise. *Liber ordinum episcopal*, 4.47.20–33: "At tu domine omnipotens deus cuius uirtutem non nescii, dum aquarum merita promimus, operis insignia predicamus, suscipe propitius noxios, et pietate [solita] solbe captibos. Redde quod in paradiso adam perdidit, quod uxor admisit, quod intemperantia gu[i]lae uoracis absorbuit. / Da salutare[m] potum, male saturitatis aceruitate pomorum, ut indigesta mortalium lues, et annosa pernicies diuino solbantur antidoto. Ablue terrae squalentis inglubiem; discute paradisi maceriam, flammeis obicibus fluctuantem. Pateat redeuntibus florei ruris ingressus. Recipiant ymaginem deitatis olim perditam libore serpentis. Ut quicquid criminum de preuaricatione contractum est, huius gurgitis puritate deponant. Surgant ad requiem, producantur ad ueniam, ut misticis innobati licoribus, et redemtos se noberint, et renatos. Amen," in José Janini, *Liber Ordinum Episcopal (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4)*, Studia Silensia 15 (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadia de Silos, 1991), 83. See also Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum: En usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, vol. 5 (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et C$^{ie}$, 1904), col. 30.

liturgical movements and discourse. Moreover, they occupied an equally liminal temporality. Entrance into the corporal Christian community through the waters of baptism reflected an eternal community that dwelt incorporally in the presence of God. Within the baptistery, catechumens existed in both measured and immeasurable time, always on the threshold of the world at hand and the world to come, with a vision of the celestial paradise that lay before them, even as the baptismal liturgy reminded them of the terrestrial paradise their spiritual forebears had forsaken.

Early Christian baptismal liturgies were designed as transformative and spiritually transcendent engagements that ushered the initiate into the presence of the divine. At the same time, they were also performative acts that recreated the Fall of humanity in the Garden of Eden and the return to a prelapsarian state.[2] These acts required directors: bishops and priests who administered the liturgy and provided stage directions and scripts for the catechumens. As actors playing the roles of new Adams and Eves, catechumens renounced Satan and professed allegiance to Christ, thereby reversing the stigma of the original disobedience in the Garden of Eden. The baptismal waters were transformed into the rivers of paradise, and very often the stage upon which the drama was performed, the baptistery itself, was decorated in imitation of, or as an allusion to, paradise.

In a particularly vivid account of this dramatic reenactment, the fourth chapter of the *Liber ordinum episcopal*, a late-seventh century Visigothic liturgy incorporated into an eleventh-century Spanish sacramentary (MS Silos, Archivo Monástico 4),

[2] The most recent work on this baptismal theme is Robin M. Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theological Dimensions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 177–213. See also Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 19–113; idem, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, trans. Wulstan Hibberd (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), 22–29.

frames the rite of baptism as a return to the Garden of Eden.[3] After symbolically exorcizing the initiates—here infants brought to the baptismal font by their parents or other relatives—the presiding bishop or priest turned to the font and offered a benediction over its waters, which are described in the liturgy as mystical in their transformative power to cleanse the initiates from the consequences of the Fall. The font is described as the gateway to paradise, the Garden of Eden whose entrance was sealed in Gen. 3.23–24, with Adam and Eve suffering banishment after disobeying God and eating the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Only through the font and its waters can the baptismal catechumens overcome the "paradisi maceriam, flammeis obicibus fluctuantem," which is extinguished by the waters, revealing an "ingressus florei" for those reentering paradise. The initiates, even as infants, are cast in this liturgical drama as new Adams and Eves. The bitterness of the fruit of disobedience that caused their separation from the divine is mitigated by a "salutare[m] potum," a "diuino antidoto" that ultimately restores the image of God ("ymaginem deitatis") to humanity. The remaining elements of the baptismal liturgy continue with additional exorcisms and renunciations of the devil, further

[3] In its present form, the episcopal version of the *Liber ordinum*—as opposed to its variant, the sacerdotal (Cod. Silos, Archivo Monástico 3)—dates to the eleventh century, purportedly compiled by Spanish bishops and delivered to Pope Alexander II for his review of the orthodoxy of the ancient Visigothic and Mozarabic rites that were practiced in Spain. And in turn, following Alexander's approval, the Spanish church was allowed to continue using the rites rather than adopting the pontifical rites of Rome. The colophon on fols. 331v–332r in MS Silos, Archivo Monástico 4, presumed to be the earliest extant copy of the *Liber ordinum* delivered to Alexander and the text from which the epigram at the beginning of this chapter is taken, notes that Bartholomew the priest (probably from the monastery of Albelda or possibly San Millán) copied the text for Domingo the abbot in 1052. It is now generally accepted, however, that the original text that Bartholomew copied was based largely on seventh-century Visigothic liturgical sources whose language and influence are still readily apparent in the eleventh-century version, including the use of canons from the Council of Toledo in 653, a complete list of the bishops of Toledo from 657 to the end of the seventh century in the manuscript's calendar, and rites of repentance for Donatists and Arians, two Early Christian groups deemed heretical in the fourth and fifth centuries and whose influence in Late Antiquity was thought to have become nearly extinct by the end of the sixth century. For a history of the *Liber ordinum* manuscript tradition, see Roger Collins, "Continuity and Loss in Medieval Spanish Culture: The Evidence of MS Silos, Archivo Monástico 4," in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, eds. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002), 1–22.

benedictions, and finally a footwashing ceremony modeled after Christ in Jn. 13.1–13.

The *Liber ordinum episcopal* is one of the earliest examples of a baptismal liturgy compiled for broad, regional use—in this case, the Visigothic Kingdom in the province of Spania—and therefore provides an apt *terminus ad quem* for understanding the process by which baptismal liturgies were developed in Late Antiquity.[4] Its complex development of a relationship between baptism and paradise, however, was influenced significantly by the baptismal theologies and liturgies of the fourth and fifth centuries for much smaller audiences, namely individual churches or dioceses within cities. Early Christian baptismal liturgies varied considerably across Roman and Byzantine territories, but there was nevertheless considerable consistency among the principal elements of the drama and its underlying theology.[5]

One of the earliest and most influential liturgies, especially for churches of the Latin West, was compiled by Ambrose of Milan in ca. 390–391 when he wrote *De mysteriis* for the catechumens of his church, expounding the various symbolic and theological meanings of the baptismal rite in which the initiates had recently

[4] There are, of course, earlier codifications of baptismal liturgies, including the earliest, the *Constitutiones apostolorum*, which dates to the last quarter of the fourth century, originating most likely in Syria. Other codified baptismal rites followed soon after, including the Assyrian rite under Katholikos Isho'yahb III in the mid-seventh century, which is contemporary with the Visigothic rite in the *Liber ordinum episcopal*. Cf. E. C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 3rd ed. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 35ff, 63ff.

[5] For synoptic charts detailing the similarities between theologians and liturgies, see Hugh M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan*, Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 17 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1974), 33–35, 41–44, 56–59, 86–89, 108, 116–117, 153–154, 161–162, 193–194, 225–227, 300–301, 357, 359–363, 413–415; Thomas M. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: West and East Syria*, Message of the Fathers of the Church 5 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 238–239; idem, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, and Egypt*, Message of the Fathers of the Church 6 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 210–211; Joseph L. Levesque, "The Theology of the Postbaptismal Rites in the Seventh and Eighth Century Gallican Church," in *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 163–165; Frank C. Quinn, "Confirmation Reconsidered: Rite and Meaning," in ibid., 223.

participated during Easter week.[6] Although the central purpose of the text is the explanation of what Ambrose terms the "mysteries" of baptism, the systematic structure of the theological discourse and its paradisiacal themes offer insight into not simply the order of Early Christian baptismal liturgies, but also the process by which catechumens were steadily transformed into the original denizens of the Garden of Eden. Similar baptismal expositions appear earlier among Latin sources, most notably in Tertullian's late-second or early-third century *De baptismo*; the likely contemporaneous *Traditio apostolica*, once thought to have been written by Hippolytus of Rome in the third century[7]; or several Greek liturgical sources from the early- to mid-fourth century, such as the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem and John Chrysostom or the baptismal homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Ambrose's *De mysteriis*, however, is one of the earliest witnesses to a liturgical sequence of discrete actions performed at a known church; it offers a thorough delineation of the individual components of the liturgy; and the liturgy itself was highly influential in Italy and North Africa. Although the textual evidence for the

[6] For a relatively recent summary of the debate on dating Ambrose's two most important works on baptism, *De sacramentis* and *De mysteriis*, see Boniface Ramsey, *Ambrose* (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 62–63, 145–146. For a challenge to the universal application of Easter baptism in early Christianity, see Paul F. Bradshaw, "'Diem baptismo sollemniorem': Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity," in Johnson, *Living Water, Sealing Spirit*, 137–147.

[7] The early-third century date and Roman provenance of the *Traditio apostolica* have become increasingly contentious over the last two decades, with scholarly consensus shifting toward a Greek or Syrian origin. Although the present text may include third- or perhaps even second-century liturgical sources, it was almost certainly compiled from other traditions in the later fourth century with no evidence that it was ever actually used in its final form by Early Christian churches. On the current state of the debate, see Paul Bradshaw, "Re-dating the *Apostolic Tradition*: Some Preliminary Steps," in *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.*, eds. Aidan Kavanagh, Nathan Mitchell, and John Francis Baldovin (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996), 3–17; Wolfram Kinzig, Christoph Markschies, and Markus Vinzent, *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis: Studien zur sogenannten "Traditio apostolica", zu den "Interrogationes de fide" und zum "römischen Glaubensbekenntnis"* (Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 1999); Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 1–17; Bradshaw, "Who Wrote the *Apostolic Tradition*? A Response to Alistair Stewart-Sykes," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 105–206; and Andrea Nicolotti, "Che cos'è la *Traditio apostolica* di Ippolito? In margine ad una recente pubblicazione," *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 2, no. 1 (2005): 219–237. For a defense of a Roman provenance, see Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001).

creation of paradisiacal space in Early Christian baptisteries is far richer in Greek and Syriac documents from Late Antiquity, the visual and archaeological evidence discussed in subsequent chapters is principally western, with the most compelling examples appearing in Italy and the Latin-speaking provinces of North Africa. Using Ambrose's liturgical structure as a rubric, therefore, offers a viable connection to the development of contemporaneous paradisiacal imagery in the western Mediterranean in the fourth and fifth centuries.

According to Ambrose, immediately before baptism, catechumens practiced insufflation as part of the requirement of exorcism (1.3). This ritual breathing exercise symbolically purged the initiates of evil and opened their ears and mouths, whereby they received gifts of spiritual vision and hearing necessary for understanding the rite of baptism, with the bishop or priest proclaiming "*Epheta*" in reference to Christ's miracle in Mk. 7.34 (1.4). The initiates then turned toward the west and renounced Satan and the sinful pleasures of the world, followed by a reversal to the east, where they pledged themselves to Christ (2.5–7). Ambrose then provides an exegesis of biblical typologies of the baptismal waters, beginning with the creation narrative in Genesis, and urges the catechumens to look beyond the materiality of the water in the baptismal font and comprehend its spiritual, mystical properties (3–5). After entering the baptismal font, repeating a trinitarian confession, and receiving a baptism of either immersion or effusion (5.28), the catechumens had their bodies anointed with oil (6.29–30), their feet were washed beside the font (6.31–33), and they were given white robes (7.34–36) since their own clothes had been discarded and they were baptized naked. Sealing by the Holy Spirit marked the final act in the baptismal drama and signified the catechumens' entrance into the Christian community (7.41–42). What follows after this rite, Ambrose explains, is a procession through the

adjoining church to the high altar, where the participants, now neophytes, received their first Eucharist, the culmination of their mystical communion with the body of Christ and an archetype of the heavenly feast that awaited them after death (8–9).[8]

Although Ambrose's baptismal liturgy influenced the development of liturgies elsewhere in Italy and North Africa,[9] it was by no means the origin of the fundamental stages of the rite or the ritual enactment of the return to paradise.[10] By the fourth century, the principal elements of the ritual act described by Ambrose had already become common to churches throughout the Romano-Byzantine provinces of Late Antiquity. From as far west as the Iberian Peninsula to as far east as Armenia, the staging of the baptismal liturgy had become increasingly homogeneous, though not necessarily codified or regulated by papal or patriarchal authority. It remained relatively localized until at least the sixth or seventh century. Using Ambrose's basic

[8] For Ambrose's emphasis on "spiritual vision" for the first Eucharist of the catechumens, see Georgia Frank, "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *Church History* 70, no. 4 (2001): 619–643. See also Ambrose's contemporary, John Chrysostom, on the distinctions between terrestrial and celestial vision at baptism in *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus series), 3.11–12.

[9] This is perhaps best recognized in Augustine's theology of baptism. Augustine was baptized by Ambrose in Milan at Easter in 387 CE (cf. Augustine, *Confessiones*, 5–6, 9) and took much of the Ambrosian liturgy back to North Africa, where he was made bishop of Hippo Regius (near modern Annaba, Algeria). On the spread of the Ambrosian liturgy in Italy, North Africa, and beyond, see Annabel Jane Wharton, "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna," *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (1987): 358–375; William Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995); Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 105–147; Geir Hellemo, "Baptism – The Divine Touch," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 18 (2004): 101–113; Ivan Foletti, "Saint Ambroise et le Baptistère des Orthodoxes de Ravenne. Autour du *Lavement des pieds* dans la liturgie baptismale," in *Fons vitae. Baptême, baptistères et rites d'initiation (IIe-VIe siècle). Actes de la journée d'études, Université de Lausanne, 1er décembre 2006*, eds. Ivan Foletti and Serena Romano (Rome: Viella, 2009), 121–155; Garry Wills, *Font of Life: Ambrose, Augustine, and the Mystery of Baptism*, Emblems of Antiquity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[10] For a comparison with Ambrose's fourth-century contemporaries and those that followed in the fifth century, see Edward Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough: St Paul Publications, 1972), retitled *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the RCIA* for the second edition (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1994); and Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 455–816.

model as a rubric, however, we can trace the most salient features of the Edenic drama in early Christianity.[11]

*Exorcism and Exsufflation: Recovering the Breath of God*

Long before catechumens entered the waters of baptism, they were placed under scrutiny of church leadership—a period that could last as long as three years[12]—to determine their spiritual fitness for entering the Christian community. Entering the catechumenate, however, required ritual exorcisms to treat the fallen nature of the catechumens and the burden of sin they inherited from Adam and Eve; to ensure that their souls were made receptive to the Holy Spirit; and to purge their minds of demonic influence, making them fertile for accepting the doctrine of the church.[13] Once the period of scrutiny and instruction was over and catechumens were deemed fit to enter the Church, they were scheduled for evening baptism on Easter Saturday or the vigil of Pentecost, with the subsequent Eucharist occurring in the early hours of the following Sunday, thus employing the death and resurrection of Christ as the model of the catechumens' regeneration. In the days immediately preceding baptism, catechumens were often asked to fast and abstain from sexual activity, bathing, and sometimes even sleeping as they committed themselves to ritual purity and devoted themselves to additional exorcisms by the clergy and to personal

[11] On the importation of the baptismal rite into North Africa during the bishoprics of Augustine and Quodvultdeus, see Thomas M. Finn, "It Happened One Saturday Night: Ritual and Conversion in Augustine's North Africa," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 58, no. 4 (1990): 589–616.
[12] See, for instance, *Traditio apostolica*, 17.1; Canon 42 of the Council of Elvira (ca. 306); and Canon 14 of the Council of Nicaea (325). Clement of Alexandria may also refer to a three-year catechumenate in *Stromata*, 2.18, but his typological exegesis of Leviticus, upon which the three-year reference is based, is ambiguous—cf. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 315, n. 46. See also Maxwell Johnson, "From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent," *Studia Liturgica* 20 (1990): 185–200.
[13] The bibliography on baptismal exorcism is expansive, but see especially Franz Joseph Dölger's classic study, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie,* Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 3 (Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1909); and Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1985).

prayer.[14] Once the actual baptismal ceremony had begun, a final exorcism was administered—either of the catechumen, the waters of the baptismal font, or both—sometimes in conjunction with salt, which was considered both apotropaic and sanctifying in antiquity.[15]

Exsufflation and insufflation marked some of the final steps in baptismal exorcism. Exsufflation constituted blowing into a catechumen's face with special attention paid to the eyes, nose, and mouth.[16] This was interpreted in various ways by the bishops presiding over the ritual. For Ambrose, who used the pericope of Christ healing the deaf and mute man in Mk. 7.31–37 as biblical precedent, it signified the breath of the Holy Spirit that opened the eyes, ears, and minds of the initiates to understand the mysteries of baptism, its theological implications for entering the Christian community and paradise itself, and, more importantly, the adoption of spiritual seeing and discernment, by which the Christian initiate learned to examine the world beyond its literal, material properties, transcending the terrestrial to embrace the celestial through a divinely-apportioned spiritual vision.

Ambrose's interpretation of the exsufflation rite, however, is unusual. Exsufflation was more commonly associated with baptismal exorcisms, an apotropaic gesture that expelled the devil from the catechumens or, if it was administered to the water in the baptismal font, it expelled any evil spirits that may have dwelt in or contaminated the water source.[17] *Exsufflatio* was even known to have been associated

---

[14] For fourth-century accounts of these prebaptismal practices, see Egeria, *Itinerarium peregrinatio*, 46.1; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses illuminandorum*, 1.5; John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Stavronikita series), 2.12; *Traditio apostolica*, 20.

[15] Cf. B. Botte, "Sacramentum catechumenorum," *Questions liturgiques* 43 (1963): 322–330; R. De Latte, "Saint Augustin et le baptême," *Questions liturgiques* 56 (1975): 181–191; Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery*, 35.

[16] For an overview of the practice, see Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual*, 118–130; B. Botte, "La sputation, antique rite baptismal?" in *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1963), 196–201; and Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery*, 35–37.

[17] Most Early Christian baptismal liturgies included a rite of consecration or sanctification of the baptismal waters, and in some later sources, such as the *Liber ordinum episcopal*, 2.14, the rite is

with a hissing sound that was thought to be both censorious and frightening to a demonic presence.[18] John the Deacon, writing at the turn of the sixth century, interprets the exsufflation rite in Rome within this context rather than adopting Ambrose's interpretation of opening the senses of the catechumens spiritually. Rather than opening the senses in preparation for reentering paradise, he notes that the rite is performed to expel Satan and then close off the senses, thus preventing his return.[19] Ultimately, however, the effect is the same. The catechumens' senses have been released from worldly, terrestrial matters and redirected—or in John's case, preserved—to cultivate a spiritual and celestial vision. Similar, more literal interpretations of exsufflation as exorcism appear in the earlier *Traditio apostolica*, Cyril of Jerusalem's mystagogical lectures, and Augustine's treatises, as well as the later writings of Isidore of Seville in the seventh century.[20] As the term *exsufflatio* indicated, the devil was ritually "blown out" or expelled from the bodies of the initiates, after which the initiates inhaled or were blown upon by (insufflation) the spirit of God offered to them at baptism. This process of exhaling the devil and inhaling God effectively reversed the satanic influence of the original Edenic Fall and prepared the initiates to re-occupy paradise as redeemed and spiritually purified

---

explicitly one of exorcism. For a discussion of apotropaic consecrations of baptismal waters, see Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 105 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 134–142.

[18] Cf. Augustine, *Contra secundam Juliani responsionem*, 3.199. See also Franz J. Dölger, "Heidnische Begrüßung und christliche Verhöhnung der Heidentempel. *Despuere* und *exsufflare* in der Dämonenbeschwörung. Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu Tertullian De idololatria 11," *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 3 (1932): 192–203; idem, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual*, 196–201; and G. M. Lukken, *Original Sin in the Roman Liturgy: Research into the Theology of Original Sin in the Roman Sacramentaria and the Early Baptismal Liturgy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 227ff.

[19] John the Deacon, "Epistola ad Senarium," 3. For a broader discussion of John's influence on the formation of Roman liturgies, see J. D. C. Fisher, "Christian Initiation in Rome from John the Deacon and the Gelasian Sacramentary to the Twelfth Century," in *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West. A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation*, Alcuin Club Collections 47 (London: SPCK, 1965), 1–29.

[20] *Traditio apostolica*, 20.7–8; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 20.3; Augustine, *Contra secundam Juliani responsionem*, 3.199; Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 2.21.3.

individuals, having received anew the breath of God that was given to Adam (Gen. 2.7).[21]

Under Ambrose's exegesis, the bishop's or priest's exsufflation and the initiate's insufflation not only alluded to well-known tropes in Early Christian theology of the spririt of God hovering over the waters at creation, God breathing into the nostrils of an inanimate Adam to instill life, or even the Holy Spirit endowing the Apostles at Pentecost with the gift of tongues, but it also offered a theological corrective to the Fall of humanity. Adam and Eve had their minds opened to the knowledge of good and evil by eating the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. Their relationship to God was forever altered, their spiritual vision blunted and made carnal, and they were banished from paradise. By contrast, the ex/insufflation ceremony in Early Christian baptism was designed symbolically to return spiritual vision to the fallen, reestablish a proper relationship with the divine, and prepare the eyes and minds of catechumens to experience again the pleasures of paradise, of which a preliminary vision was often represented within the baptistery through paradisiacal motifs, entire landscapes of paradise rendered in mosaic, or heavenly visions displayed in the cupolas above the heads of the initiates.

At least one Early Christian baptistery contained an inscription that seems to allude to the mystical breath of God offered through the insufflation rite. San Giovanni in fonte (figs. 2.1–2.2), the baptistery attached to San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, was originally commissioned under Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester (314–335), most likely in the 320s.[22] It was the first baptistery constructed

[21] The evidence for insufflation is not as well documented in Early Christian sources as exsufflation, in part because the words *exsufflatio* and *insufflatio* appear to have been used interchangeably in some baptismal sources—cf. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, 232ff. In later sources, however, *insufflatio* is understood more specifically as an inhaling of the Holy Spirit—see, for instance, the eighth-century Bobbio Missal, 2.72 (Paris, Bibliothèque national, MS lat. 13246).
[22] Cf. *Liber pontificalis*, 34.13.

separate from the church it served, and Constantine's imperial donations of gold, silver, and marble set a precedent for adorning baptisteries lavishly from the fourth century onward.[23] The baptistery was renovated in the early-fifth century by Pope Sixtus III (432–440), and it was at this time that the inscription in question was added to the lower architrave of the octagonal ciborium over the font, which Sixtus commissioned (fig. 2.3).[24] The inscription consists of eight distichs, each incised on one of the eight marble slabs. There are no obvious indications of where the inscription begins or ends, and attempts to reconstruct the distichs in the nineteenth- and early-twentieth century resulted in several variant readings.[25] In 1930, however, Franz Dölger proposed a reconstruction that began with "Gens sacranda polis hic semine nascitur almo | quam fecundatis spiritus edit aquis," which appeared on the architrave slab immediately across from the southeastern vestibule that marked the main entrance to the baptistery (fig. 2.4). Under Dölger's reconstruction, catechumens would have entered the baptistery and approached its central font from the south, where they would have been confronted by the first inscribed marble slab. The inscription, then, would have continued counterclockwise around the font, thereby

[23] Both the architecture and interior decoration of the baptistery will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

[24] The *Liber pontificalis*, 46.7, identifies Sixtus III as the source of the baptistery inscription, but both Franz Dölger and Paul A. Underwood have contested this attribution, suggesting instead that the inscription correlates well with the sermons of Leo I, Sixtus' archdeacon and successor as pope. See Franz J. Dölger, "Die Inschrift im Baptisterium S. Giovanni in Fonte an der Lateranensischen Basilika aus der Zeit Xystus' III (432–440) und die Symbolik des Taufbrunnens bei Leo dem Großen," *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 2 (1930): 252–257; Paul A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life and the Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950): 56–61.

[25] See, for instance, Gaetano Luigi Marini, *Inscriptiones christianae latinae et graecae aevi milliarii*, vol. 1 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 9071), 71, no. 1—the manuscript was incomplete upon the author's death in 1815; Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis : texte, introduction et commentaire*, vol. 1 (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886), 236; Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae vrbis Romae septimo saecvlo antiqviores*, vol. 2 (Rome: Sede della Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1888), 424, no. 44; Joseph Zettinger, "Die ältesten Nachrichten über Baptisterien der Stadt Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1902): 328; Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), 289, no. 1513; and Henri Leclercq, "Baptistère," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 2, eds. Fernand Cabrol, Henri Leclercq, and Henri-Irénée Marrou (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1925), 415.

indicating a likely directional route for the baptismal procession. The order of the inscription here is that of Dölger, which Paul Underwood and, most recently, Robin Jensen, have also adopted. The text reads:

> A people to be consecrated to the heavens is born here from a fertile seed,
> which the Spirit brings forth with waters made fruitful.
> Immerse yourself, sinner, to be purified by the sacred flow: Whomever it
> receives as old the wave brings forth as new.
> There is no difference between those reborn, whom one font, one spirit, and
> one faith make one.
> By a virgin birth the Mother Church bears her offspring in this river, those
> whom she conceives by the breath of God.
> Wishing to be innocent, be cleansed in this bath, whether you are oppressed
> by ancestral sin or your own.
> This is the fountain of life, which cleanses all the earth, taking its origin from
> the wound of Christ.
> Anticipate the Kingdom of Heaven, you who have been reborn in this
> fountain; for the blessed life does not receive those born only once.
> Let neither the number nor form of one's sins frighten anyone; anyone born in
> the stream will be holy.[26]

The inscription would have been visible to the catechumens awaiting baptism, as well as the bishop or priest presiding over the ceremony. It is unlikely that catechumens, if they were literate, would have stood inside the baptistery, circling the font counterclockwise to read the entire poem on the architrave, which, at any rate, is difficult to read from ground level. It is, however, entirely possible that the inscription was incorporated into the baptismal liturgy at Rome, in which bishops or priests would either read or at least explain the content of the poem during catechetical lectures.

---

[26] "Gens sacranda polis hic semine nascitur almo | quam fecundatis spiritus edit aquis. | Mergere, peccator sacro purgande fluento: | quem veterem accipiet, proferet unda novum. | Nulla renascentum est distantia, quos facit unum | unus fons, unus spiritus, una fides. | Virgineo fetu genetrix ecclesia natos | quos spirante deo concipit amne parit, | insons esse volens isto mundare lavacro, | seu patrio premeris crimine seu proprio. | Fons hic vitae qui totum diluit orbem, | sumens de Christi vulnere principium | caelorum regnum sperate hoc fone renati: | non recipit felix vita semel genitos. | Nec numerus quemquam scelerum nec forma suorum | terreat: hoc natus flumine sanctus erit." For alternate English translations, see Underwood, "The Fountain of Life and the Manuscripts of the Gospels," 55; and Robin Margaret Jensen, "Inscriptions from Early Christian Baptisteries in Rome," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 24 (2011): 70; also available in idem, *Living Water*, 187–188.

The fourth distich contains the phrase "quos spirante deo concipit amne parit." This reference to the "breath of God"—or a more literal translation of "She conceives them by breathing God"—suggests that the Church is the conduit through which the breath of God reaches the catechumens. This is precisely what occurs in the rite of insufflation. The bishop or priest blows upon the initiates, who then inhale the air as though taking into their lungs the very breath of God. The bishop or priest, then, acts as an intermediary for God, much as the Church does in the inscription. This model of divine mediation conforms to Early Christian orthodox ecclesiology, and it almost certainly would have resonated with catechumens inside the Lateran baptistery after the fifth-century Sistine renovation. At the very least, it probably confirmed the practice of insufflation in the Roman rite for successive generations, functioning as an early testimony to papal endorsement. It is interesting to note that the inscription also alludes to the original, Edenic sin in the Garden of Eden in the fifth distich: "seu patrio premeris crimine seu proprio." The initiate is beckoned to the baptismal font to be cleansed from all sin, including the burden of original sin. In this way, the initiates, liberated from the burden of original sin, are reanimated by the breath of God through the intervention of the Church. This subtle reference to Gen. 2.7, in which Adam receives the breath of God, offered a vision of a paradise regained and the hope of a new beginning for humanity.

*Renouncing the Devil in the New Eden*

The renunciation of Satan is one of the most pervasive elements in Early Christian baptismal liturgies.[27] Exorcism was performed on catechumens, whose participation in the ritual was far more passive than active. Renunciation, on the other hand, activated catechumens as willing agents in their own salvation. They had to

[27] Cf. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, 94–105; Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery*, 37–38.

choose Christ over Satan consciously, either at the threshold of the baptistery or before its font. The formulation of the renunciation and corresponding *confessio* was remarkably consistent in Early Christian and medieval liturgies. The earliest account appears in the *Traditio apostolica*:

> And when the presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) grasps each one of those who will receive baptism (βάπτισμα), let him command him to renounce (ἀποτάσσεσθαι), saying, "I renounce (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) you, Satan (σατανᾶς), with all your service and all your works." And when he has renounced (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) all these, let him anoint him with the oil of exorcism (ἐξορκισμός), saying, "Let every spirit (πνεῦμα) be cast far from you." And in this way let him give him naked to the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) or (ἤ) the presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) standing by the water to baptize (βαπτίζειν). And (δέ) likewise (ὁμοίως), let the deacon (διάκονος) go with him down into the water and let him say to him, enjoining him to say, "I believe (πιστεύειν) in the only true God, the Father, the Almighty (παντοκράτωρ), and his only begotten (μονογενής) Son, Jesus Christ (χριστός) our Lord and Savior (σωτήρ) with his Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα), the giver of life to everything, three (τρίας) in one substance (ὁμοούσιος), one divinity, one Lordship, one kingdom, one faith (πίστις), one baptism (βάπτισμα), in the holy catholic (καθολική) apostolic (ἀποστολικη) church (ἐκκλησία), which lives forever. Amen (ἀμήν)." And (δέ) the one who receives it, let him say to (κατά) all this, "I believe (πιστεύειν) thus." And the one who gives will put his hand on the head of the one who receives and dip him three times, confessing (ὁμολογεῖν) these things each time (κατά–). And afterward, let him say, "[Do] you believe (πιστεύειν) in our Lord Jesus Christ (χριστός), the only Son of God the Father, that he became man wondrously for us in an incomprehensible unity, in his Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) from Mary, the holy virgin (παρθένος), without human seed (σπέρμα); and he was crucified (σταυροῦν) for us under Pontius Pilate; he died willingly for our salvation; he rose on the third day; he released those who were bound; he went up to heaven; he sat at the right hand of his good (ἀγαθός) Father in the heights; and he comes to judge (κρίνειν) the living and the dead by (κατά) his appearance with his kingdom; and [do] you believe (πιστεύειν) in the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα), the good (ἀγαθός) and the giver of life, who purifies the universe in the holy church (ἐκκλησία)...." Again (πάλιν) let him say, "I believe."[28]

[28] *Traditio apostolica*, 21.9–18 (Sahidic Coptic version); English translation (along with clarifications in the original Greek) in Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition*, 114, 116, 118. See also Whitaker and Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 7. As Whitaker explains, the Latin text of the late-fifth century Verona Palimpsest (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LV. 53) contains a lacuna between chapters 15 and 21, and therefore the missing liturgical text on the baptismal renunciation of Satan must be taken from the Sahidic Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, or Bohairic versions, which are more complete, though later in date.

Nearly identical formulas appear throughout the fourth to seventh centuries across the Romano-Byzantine world,[29] and they were incorporated into several codified early-medieval rites, including the *Liber ordinum episocal*; the eighth-century Romano-Gallican Gelasian Sacramentary and the Constantinopolitan rite in the Barberini Euchologion; the ninth-century Armenian rite; and the tenth-century *Manuale ambrosianum*.[30]

The rite of satanic renuncation was always followed by a confession of the Trinity, and the ritual was of the utmost gravity, often with catechumens begging for forgiveness of sins and allegiance to the devil.[31] The importance placed on the renunciation was not simply an alignment with the previous exorcisms or to ensure that the catechumens had indeed purged the devil from their souls and knowingly committed themselves to Christ. It was also a carefully crafted reenactment of the Fall in the Garden of Eden. Just as Adam and Eve had to decide whom they would obey—God or the serpent—the catechumens were placed before the baptismal waters, the very gates of the new Eden, and offered a similar choice. As Cyril of Jerusalem

---

[29] Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos*, 14.14.4; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 1.2–4; John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus series), 3.22, 24; *Constitutiones apostolorum*, 7.41.2; Ambrose of Milan, *De sacramentis*, 1.2.5; idem, *De mysteriis*, 2.5; idem, *Hexameron*, 1.4.14; Nicetas of Remesiana, *Instructio ad competentes*, 5.2.8; idem, *Tractatus de baptismo*, 2; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homiliae de baptismo*, 2.5; the so-called *Canones* of Hippolytus, 19; *Expositio de fide catholica*, 3.58; Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei*, 6.32; Narsai, *Homiliae*, 22; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, 12.4; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 2.6; Martin of Braga, *De correctione rusticorum*, 15; Eligius of Noyon, *De rectitudine catholicae conversionis*, 2; Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 2.25.5; Ildephonsus of Toledo, *De cognitione baptismi*, 111; Taio of Saragossa, *Sententiae*, 2.13. See also the satanic renunciation that appears in the late-seventh or early-eighth century Bobbio Missal, 2.244 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 13246).

[30] *Liber ordinum episcopal*, 3.34; Gelasian Sacramentary (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS reg. lat. 316), 42, in *Liber sacramentorum romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. nat. 7193, 41/56, Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, Ecclesiasticarum Documenta 4, eds. Leo Eizenhöfer, Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, and Petrus Siffrin (Rome: Herder, 1960); Barberini Euchologion (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. gr. 336) fols. 260–263, in *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336: ff. 1–263*, eds. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska (Rome: C. L. V., Edizioni Liturgiche, 1995); Armenian Rite, baptismal canon, in *Rituale Armenorum: Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church, Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss. and the East Syrian Epiphany Rites*, eds. F. C. Conybeare and A. J. MacLean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905); *Manuale ambrosianum*, 2.467.

[31] Cf. John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus series), 3.18; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homiliae de baptismo*, 2.2; and Narsai, *Homiliae*, 22.

writes,

> First you entered the atrium of the baptistery, and standing toward the west you were instructed to extend your arm and, as though in the presence of Satan, renounce him....
>
> But nevertheless, you are prompted to say, with your arm stretched out toward him as though he were here, "I renounce you, Satan." I want to address the reason why you stand facing west, for it is necessary. Since west is the place from which darkness appears, and [Satan], who is darkness and happens also to dwell in darkness, looking toward the west symbolically you renounce that dark and dismal ruler. As you stood, what did each one of you say? "I renounce you, Satan, you worthless and savage tyrant. I no longer fear your power, for Christ has abolished it, having shared with me his blood and body so that through his sufferings he might destroy death by his own death in order that I might not be bound to slavery forever. I renounce you, deceitful and wicked serpent. I renounce you, treacherous one, who, under pretense of friendship but promoting every disobedience, urged transgression in our ancestors. I renounce you, Satan, craftsman and instrument for everything evil.[32]

The passage continues with three more expositions of the renunciation of Satan's works, "pomp" (Καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ), and service, which Cyril defines generally as sin, but more specifically as an interest in the theater, circus, the sport of the hunt, and pagan festivals and religious practices, all of which constitute worldly and wasteful endeavors that have no place in the lives of neophytes.[33] It is perhaps ironic that Cyril's description of the catechumens' address to Satan is conspicuously theatrical, complete with script, bodily gestures, and, in the trinitarian confession that follows, a dénouement that results in a definitive breach of the initiates' contract with

---

[32] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 1.2, 4. "Εἰσῄειτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτίσματος οἶκον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἑστῶτες ἠκούετε καὶ προσετάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ.... Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκούεις τεταμένῃ τῇ χειρὶ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα εἰπεῖν· «Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ.» Βούλομαι καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν ἵστασθε πρὸς δυσμὰς εἰπεῖν· ἀναγκαῖον γάρ. Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φαινομένου σκότους τόπος αἱ δυσμαί, ἐκεῖνος δὲ σκότος τυγχάνων ἐν σκότῳ ἔχει καὶ τὸ κράτος· τούτου χάριν συμβολικῶς πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀποβλέποντες, ἀποτάσσεσθε τῷ σκοτεινῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ζοφερῷ ἄρχοντι. Τί οὖν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἑστὼς ἔλεγεν; Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, σοὶ τῷ πονηρῷ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ τυράννῳ· οὐκέτι σου δέδοικα, λέγων, τὴν ἰσχύν. Κατέλυσε γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Χριστός, αἵματός μοι καὶ σαρκὸς κοινωνήσας, ἵνα διὰ τούτων τῶν παθημάτων καταργήσῃ θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον, ὅπως μὴ διὰ παντὸς ἔνοχος γένωμαι δουλείας. Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι τῷ δολερῷ καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ ὄφει. Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι ἐπιβούλῳ ὄντι, καὶ προσποιήσει φιλίας πράξαντι πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν, καὶ ἐμποιήσαντι τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις ἀποστασίαν. Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, τῷ πάσης κακίας δημιουργῷ καὶ συνεργῷ. In *Cyrille de Jérusalem: Catéchèses mystagogiques*, Sources chrétiennes 126, ed. Auguste Piédagnel (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966), 84, 88.

[33] On the Early Christian foundations of Cyril's opposition to public entertainment, see especially Tertullian, *De spectaculis*.

Satan and sin, a new allegiance to Christ, and their acceptance into the Christian community.

In Cyril's account of the Jerusalem liturgy, the catechumens chastised and repudiated Satan directly, as though he were personified within the baptistery, literally pointing west as if accusing him within his supposed realm.[34] More striking, however, is Cyril's exposition of the gesture. The vitriolic renunciation is paired with the catechumens' outstretched arms, which accuse the devil of, among other things, the deception of humanity in the Garden of Eden. The clause "καὶ ἐμποιήσαντι τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις ἀποστασίαν" is certainly a reference to Adam and Eve, with πρόγονος commonly used synonymously with the primordial first parents in Early Christian literature.[35] The baptistery, therefore, has been transformed into a stage upon which the catechumens confront Satan, reject his temptations, and commit themselves to God. Their words and actions mimic those of the first parents, but in the space of the baptistery, they offered a theological corrective to the outcome of the Genesis narrative. Standing before the gates of paradise, catechumens acknowledged the power of Satan and his temptations, but instead of succumbing to them, they committed themselves to God, thereby reversing the disobedience that Adam and Eve chose. The catechumens in turn were rewarded with a spiritual vision, the "heavenly mysteries" (ἐπουράνια μυστήρια) that Cyril promises throughout the catechesis and which was almost certainly intended as the antithesis of the carnal vision promised to Adam and Eve in Gen. 3.5. In the Genesis story, Adam and Eve are presented as agents of their own destruction; in Cyril's baptismal liturgy, catechumens are transformed into agents of their own redemption. And to eliminate any ambiguity of

[34] Directly accusing the devil in baptismal rhetoric was common, but more indirect methods were also employed. Cf. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, 94–105.
[35] See, for instance, Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 7.8.8; John Chrysostom, *In epistulam i ad Timotheum* (PG 62, col. 562); idem, *In Psalmum*, 50 (PG 55, col. 583); Didymus the Blind, *Commentarii in Job* (PG 39, col. 1145).

the paradisiacal context of the drama, Cyril states at the outset that his instructions are a guide, that he might lead the catechumens "into the bright and fragrant meadow of paradise" ("εἰς τὸν φωτεινότερον καὶ εὐωδέστερον λειμῶνα τοῦδε τοῦ παραδείσου")[36]; and toward the end of the catechesis:

> Therefore, when you renounce Satan, you dissolve every covenant established with him, that ancient pact with hell [συνθήκας]; the paradise of God, which he planted in the east, is opened for you, [a paradise] from which our forefather was banished on account of his transgression. And the symbol for this occurred when you turned from the west to the east, the place of light. Then you were instructed to say, "I place my faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance."[37]

Early Christians attributed theological symbolism to the cardinal points of the compass, with binary relationships created between north and south, heaven and hell, but also with east and west. The west was the direction of the setting sun—hence the original context of the word δυσμή—and therefore the advent of darkness, which proved an apt metaphor for the domain of Satan. The east, on the other hand, was already established as the location of the Garden of Eden in Gen. 2.8 and was repeated frequently in Early Christian baptismal sources.[38] But as Christianity spread from the Levant to the Latin provinces of the Western Roman Empire, the east assumed an additional layer of meaning in the narrative of Christ, whose birth, ministry, and death occurred in the east. The east, therefore, was the symbolic locus of paradise and salvation, and baptismal liturgies were not the only facet of Early Christian worship to capitalize on the symbolism. Early Christian architects were

---

[36] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 1.1: "Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἠπιστάμην ὄψιν ἀκοῆς πολλῷ πιστοτέραν εἶναι, ἀνέμενον τὸν παρόντα καιρόν, ὅπως εὐπροσαγωγοτέρους ὑμᾶς περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐκ ταύτης λαβὼν τῆς ἑσπέρας εἰς τὸν φωτεινότερον καὶ εὐωδέστερον λειμῶνα τοῦδε τοῦ παραδείσου χειραγωγήσω." In Piédagnel, 82, 84.

[37] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 1.9: "Ὅτε οὖν τῷ Σατανᾷ ἀποτάττῃ, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πατῶν διαθήκην, λύεις τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸς τὸν ᾅδην συνθήκας, ἀνοίγεταί σοι ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν ἐφύτευσε κατὰ ἀνατολάς, ὅθεν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐξόριστος γέγονεν ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ. Καὶ τούτου σύμβολον τὸ στραφῆναί σε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ χωρίον. Τότε σοι ἐλέγετο εἰπεῖν· «Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας.»" In Piédagnel, 98.

[38] See, for instance, Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, 27; Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione Dominica*, 5; *Constitutiones apostolorum*, 2.57.

keen to employ this directional association as apses in churches from the fourth century onward were oriented to the east, thereby aligning the high altar, upon which the Eucharist was celebrated, with the location of Christ's crucifixion and of paradise itself.

Cyril's mystagogical interpretation of the baptismal font as a gateway to paradise appears elsewhere in his writings, such as *Procatechesis* (15), where he tells his catechumens that "Then may the gates of paradise be opened for every man and woman among you. Then may you enjoy the sweet fragrance of the Christ-bearing waters. Then may you seize the name of Christ and the reality of his divine acts."[39] And he uses similar language to describe the paradisiacal atmosphere of baptism in his initial procatechetical address.[40] Cyril, however, was not alone in proclaiming to catechumens the relationship between the baptismal font and paradise. The author of the late-fourth century *De sacramentis*, which traditionally has been ascribed to Ambrose of Milan, notes that catechumens were retold the story of Adam and Eve in paradise as they stood in the water of the baptismal font.[41] However, he interprets the font not as the gateway to paradise, but rather a grave into which the catechumen descends, only to be resurrected in paradise:

> Therefore, listen: In order that the bond of the devil might also be released in this life, a solution was invented so that a living man might die, and while still alive be resurrected. What is living? It is living the life of the body when it

[39] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*, 15: "τότε ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἑκάστῃ παραδείσου θύρα ἀνοιχθῇ. Τότε ὑδάτων ἀπολαύσητε Χριστοφόρων, ἐχόντων εὐωδίαν. Τότε Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν λάβητε, καὶ ἐνέργειαν θείων πραγμάτων." In *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 1, eds. W. C. Reischl and J. Rupp (1848; reprinted, Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 10.

[40] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*, 1: "Ἤδη μακαριότητος ὀσμὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ΦΩΤΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ, ἤδη τὰ νοητὰ ἄνθη συλλέγετε πρὸς πλοκὴν ἐπουρανίων στεφάνων· ἤδη τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἔπνευσεν ἡ εὐωδία." In Reischl and Rupp, 1. For an extended discussion of the baptismal font as a tomb in Early Christian literature, see Timoteo José M. Ofrasio, *The Baptismal Font: A Study of Patristic and Liturgical Texts*, Dissertatio ad Doctoratum Sacrae Liturgiae assequendum in Pontificio Instituto Liturgico, Pontificium Athenaeum S. Anselmi de Urbe Pontificium Institutum Liturgicum, Thesis ad Lauream 149 (Rome: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1990), 70–80.

[41] Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, 2.6.17.

> came to the font and was immersed in the font. What is water, if not from the earth? Therefore, the judgment of heaven is fulfilled without the insensibility of death. Because you were immersed, that judgment was released: You are earth, and to earth you will return. With the judgment fulfilled, there is a space for the blessing and remedy of heaven. Therefore, water is from the earth; however, the possibility of our life did not permit us to be covered with earth and then be resurrected from the earth. Therefore, the earth does not cleanse, but rather water cleanses; and for that reason, the font is a type of grave.[42]

The paradisiacal vision in *De sacramentis* is therefore described in eschatological rather than terrestrial terms, although the retelling of the Genesis narrative within the font itself seems to conflate the two concepts, equating the earthly garden with a paradise accessible after death. The Garden of Eden, though conceived as a physical reality on earth and situated within a linear salvation history, nevertheless transcends its spatial and temporal boundaries to become the land occupied by the Christian neophyte after death.[43] This transcendent vision of baptism and paradise is made even more explicit by Cyril's fourth-century contemporary, Gregory of Nyssa, who describes the effect of Adam's banishment from paradise and the initiates' restoration to the Garden of Eden, which Gregory later conflates with heaven itself: "No longer will the flaming sword surrounding paradise rage, making the entrance inaccessible to those approaching it. Indeed, everything is transformed into joy for the inheritors of sin. Paradise and even heaven itself have become accessible to humanity. Creation, both terrestrial and celestial, once at variance with itself, is united in friendsip; and

---

[42] Ibid., 2.6.19: "Audi ergo: nam ut in hoc quoque saeculo nexus diaboli solveretur, inventum est quomodo homo vivus moreretur, et vivus resurgeret. Quid est vivus? Hoc est vita corporis vivens, cum veniret ad fontem, et mergeretur in fontem. Quid est aqua, nisi de terra? Satisfit ergo sententiae coelesti sine mortis stupore. Quod mergis, solvitur sententia illa: Terra es, et in terram ibis; impleta sententia, locus est beneficio remedioque coelesti. Ergo aqua de terra, possibilitas autem vitae nostrae non admittebat ut terra operiremur, et de terra resurgeremus. Deinde non terra lavat, sed aqua lavat; ideo fons quasi sepultura est" (PG 16, col. 429).

[43] This transcendental concept of time and space within salvation history can be seen even more clearly in Theodore of Mopsuestia's contemporaneous *Homiliae de baptismo*, where the author proposes a model of two ages that overlap based on Christ's incarnation. It was a common trope within the eastern mystical traditions of baptism to understand the rite as a spatial and temporal portal that linked terrestrial and celestial existence as well as finite and infinite time divided between earth and the afterlife. Cf. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: West and East Syria*, 9–10, 81–83.

humanity, now a living song unto God, joins the angels in harmonious music."[44]

*From Skins of Shame to Garments of Salvation*

In the early Church, Christian catechumens were baptized naked, a practice attested in nearly every baptismal liturgy from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages; and several catechetical lectures from both western and eastern traditions offer theological expositions of the necessity of naked baptism. Recent objections to the literal interpretation of the practice on the grounds of ancient prudery and the separation of male and female catechumens are unconvincing. They fail to account for the role of female deacons/attendants in baptismal rites or, as Robin Jensen has recently termed it, the "genderlessness" of the rite itself that may have accommodated nudity in the Early Christian baptistery as part of the initiate's mystical transformation.[45] This latter point also resonates with the command that catechumens develop a spiritual rather than carnal vision during the rite of baptism.

The requirement that catechumens enter the baptismal waters naked was endowed with several layers of meaning in baptismal liturgies, but always at the center were symbols of purity, innocence, and vulnerability. The *Traditio apostolica*, which likely preserves a pre-fourth-century tradition, notes that initiates were required to remove not only all their clothes, but also all jewelry or anything on their bodies

---

[44] Gregory of Nyssa, *In diem luminum (vulgo in baptismum Christi oratio)*: "οὔτε μὴν ἡ φλογίνη ῥομφαία κυκλώσει τὸν παράδεισον ἀπρόσιτον τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι ποιοῦσα τὴν εἴσοδον, πάντα δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς κληρονόμοις τῆς ἁμαρτίας μετεσκευάσθη πρὸς εὐφροσύνην. καὶ βατὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ παράδεισος καὶ οὐρανὸς αὐτός, συνηρμόσθη δὲ εἰς φιλίαν ἡ κτίσις ἡ ἐγκόσμιός τε καὶ ὑπερκόσμιος πάλαι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν στασιάζουσα καὶ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐγενόμεθα σύμφωνοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις εὐσεβοῦντες θεολογίαν." In *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9, part 1, ed. E. Gebhardt (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 241.

[45] The most vocal critic of the literal interpretation has been Laurie Guy, "'Naked' Baptism in the Early Church: The Rhetoric and the Reality," *Journal of Religious History* 27, no. 2 (2003): 133–142. Guy argues for a metaphorical and typological interpretation of the textual accounts. On female attendants at baptism, see Ellen Juhl Christiansen, "Women and Baptism," *Studia Theologica* 35 (1981): 1–8; and Jensen, *Living Water*, 153–156. On "genderlessless" in Early Christian baptism, see Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery*, 181–182; and idem, *Living Water*, 158–171.

that might be considered an earthly device or ornament.[46] The baptismal waters were to remain pristine as emblems of divine salvation, unpolluted by the manufactured goods of human hands. In a similar justification of the purity of the font, John the Deacon attested to the practice of naked baptism in Rome, requiring catechumens to strip down to their bare feet and enter the baptismal font free from the garments that symbolized their carnal mortality.[47] A more common explanation for the practice of naked baptism, however, is the catechumens' return to paradise. In their prelapsarian state, Adam and Eve were naked in the Garden of Eden and were without shame (Gen. 2.25). It was only after their disobedience that they became aware of their nakedness and, for the first time in their lives, were ashamed of it, choosing to clothe themselves with fig leaves sewn together (Gen. 3.7, 10) and later with animal skins provided by God himself (Gen. 3.21). The nakedness of the catechumens, therefore, was a direct correlation to the prelapsarian condition of Adam and Eve. It symbolized the innocence of humanity prior to the Fall and expressed the desire to return to a paradisiacal state before the advent of sin and shame. It also enhanced the theatricality of the liturgical drama, as catechumens assumed the roles of new Adams and Eves, cleansed from sin and the occupants of a new Eden that could only be experienced through the waters of baptism.

Cyril of Jerusalem interpreted the ritual of stripping in the baptistery polyvalently, seeing within the gesture a symbolic enactment of Col. 3.9 (removing one's old nature),[48] which he further supports with Sg. 5.3 and Eph. 4.22. However, he also understood naked catechumens as archetypes of Christ, who was crucified naked on the cross, and as new Adams and Eves within paradise, unashamed of their

[46] *Traditio apostolica*, 21.
[47] John the Deacon, "Epistola ad Senarium," 6.
[48] On the use of this passage in catechetical instruction, see also John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Stavronikita series), 2.25.

nakedness. After expounding these Old and New Testament typologies within baptism, he writes, "O marvelous act! You were naked in view of everyone and not ashamed, for truly you bore the likeness of the first-formed Adam, who was naked in paradise and was not ashamed."[49] John Chrysostom, addressing the church at Antioch, makes it very clear that initiates stripped naked in the baptistery in order to play the roles of new Adams and Eves, citing Gen. 3.7 as precedent. Moreover, he instructs them not to be ashamed of their nakedness, for the baptistery is a space occupied by Christ, not the serpent, and therefore their innocence has been restored.[50] Theodore of Mopsuestia, also originally from Antioch and a friend of John Chrysostom tells his catechumens to "strip completely. Originally Adam was 'naked and not ashamed' but once he had disobeyed the commandment and become mortal, he needed a covering; you, on the other hand, are to present yourself for baptism in order to be born again and become immortal in anticipation, and so you must first take off your clothes. For they are proof of mortality, convincing evidence of the humiliating sentence which made man need clothes."[51] Theodore later affirms the catechumens as buried and resurrected with Christ through baptism, but at the same time distances them from the old Adam:

> Then you come up out of the font. You have received baptism, second birth. By your immersion you fulfilled the sentence of burial; by coming up you received a sign of the resurrection. You have been born again and have become a completely different person. You no longer belong to Adam, who was subject to change, because he was afflicted and overwhelmed by sin; you belong to Christ, who was entirely free from sin through his resurrection, and in fact had committed no sin from the beginning of his life. For it was fitting

[49] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 2.2: "Ὢ θαυμασίου πράγματος· γυμνοὶ ἦτε ἐν ὄψεσι πάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνεσθε. Ἀληθῶς γὰρ μίμημα ἐφέρετε τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδάμ, ὃς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ γυμνὸς ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνετο." In Piédagnel, 106.
[50] John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus series), 3.28–29. See also Thomas M. Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom*, Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 15 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1967), 105ff.
[51] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homiliae de baptismo*, 3.8. English translation in Edward Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the RCIA*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1994), 197–198.

> that he should have from the beginning a claim to the immutable nature that he received in full at the resurrection. So it is that he confirms for us the resurrection from the dead and a share in his freedom from corruption.[52]

In Theodore's interpretation of the baptismal rite, the initiates, once the image of Adam in his postlapsarian condition, have been stripped of their clothes, which served as emblems of shame and disobedience to God. As naked baptismal candidates, they reasserted their prelapsarian origins and recovered their innocence, having been transformed through the waters of baptism into new Adams and the denizens of a new paradise made possible through Christ.

In this sense, then, nudity is costume. Catechumens, as actors in a liturgical drama of the return to Eden, are made to resemble their principal, archetypal characters. This is perhaps most clearly witnessed in Gregory of Nyssa's exegesis of the baptism of Christ and its foundation for the catechumenate:

> For truly, Lord, you have always been the pure and ever-flowing fountain. Indeed, you turned away from us justifiably, but out of benevolence you showed mercy. You hated and forgave; you cursed and praised; you banished us from paradise and summoned us to return; you stripped from us the leaves of the fig tree, a shameful covering, and clothed us in an expensive garment; you opened the prison and released the prisoners; you cleansed us with pure water and removed our filth. No longer will Adam feel ashamed when called by you, nor will he hide in the thicket of paradise, disgraced by his conscience.[53]

The passage concludes with Gregory's vision of all creation—both earthly and heavenly—celebrating in harmony before God. Gregory's words, addressed to the initiates, effectively frame the nudity of baptism within the Edenic drama of shame and concealment, banishment and damnation, only to conclude with a grand

---

[52] Ibid., 3.25; in Yarnold, 197.

[53] Gregory of Nyssa, *In diem luminum*: "σὺ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχεις δέσποτα καθαρὰ καὶ ἀέναος τῆς ἀγαθωσύνης πηγή, ὃς ἀπεστράφης ἡμᾶς δικαίως καὶ ἠλέησας φιλανθρώπως, ἐμίσησας καὶ διηλλάγης, κατηράσω καὶ εὐλόγησας, ἐξώρισας τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ πάλιν ἀνεκαλέσω, ἐξέδυσας τὰ φύλλα τῆς συκῆς τὴν ἀσχήμονα σκέπην καὶ περιέβαλες ἱμάτιον πολυτίμητον, ἤνοιξας τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ ἀφῆκας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους, ἐρράντισας ὕδατι καθαρῷ καὶ τῶν ῥύπων ἐκάθαρας. οὐκέτι καλούμενος παρά σου ὁ Ἀδὰμ αἰσχυνθήσεται οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενος ἐγκαλύψεται ὑπὸ τῇ λόχμῃ τοῦ παραδείσου κρυπτόμενος." In Gebhardt, 241.

dénouement in which exposure and vulnerability are refashioned into symbols of obedience, acceptance, and purity.

The fig leaves Adam once wore as an emblem of his disgrace are figured onto the catechumens, who have them stripped away at baptism as they would their earthly vestments. The "expensive garment" ("ἱμάτιον πολυτίμητον") that serves as their honorable replacement, however, is not merely symbolic of the salvation granted to the neophytes after their baptismal and eucharistic rites. Catechumens were, in fact, clothed with expensive white garments as they exited the waters of baptism. As Theodore of Mopsuestia writes, "As soon as you come up out of the font, you put on a dazzling garment of pure white. This is a sign of the world of shining splendour and the way of life to which you have already passed in symbol. When you experience the resurrection in reality and put on immortality and incorruptibility, you will not need such garments any longer; but you need them now, because you have not yet received these gifts in reality, but only in symbols and signs...."[54] Just as nudity was a costume for catechumens playing the roles of the primordial first parents, the white garments were costumes of their transfiguration into celestial beings, a transformation made complete after death. This transfiguration—and therefore the catechumens' emulation of the Transfiguration of Christ—is made explicit in John the Deacon's letter to Senarius, where he writes,

> All the neophytes are arrayed in white vesture to symbolize the resurgent Church, just as our Lord and Saviour himself in the sight of certain disciples and prophets was thus transfigured on the mount, so that it was said: *His face shone as the sun: his raiment was made white as snow* [Matt. 17.2]. This prefigured for the future the splendour of the resurgent Church, of which it is written: *Who is this that riseth up* [Cant. 3.6; 8.5] all in white? And so they wear white raiment so that though the ragged dress of ancient error has darkened the infancy of their first birth, the costume of their second birth should display the raiment of glory, so that clad in a wedding garment he may

[54] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homiliae de baptismo*, 3.26. English translation in Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation*, 197–198.

approach the table of the heavenly bridegroom as a new man.[55]

Not only does John cite the origins of the initiates' sin—the "ancient error"—thereby alluding to the Garden of Eden, but he also identifies the garments unequivocally as costumes, endowing them with a theatrical, dramatic value as the catechumens act out their return to paradise on the baptistery stage. Moreover, he makes reference to the heavenly wedding of Christ and the Church, of which the Eucharist was commonly understood as a preliminary vision.[56] As the initiates processed from the baptistery to the high altar of the adjoining church to receive their first Eucharist, they would have continued the liturgical drama, wearing their costumes of white that now symbolized the raiment of those invited to the celestial wedding. The fifth-century Syrian theologian Narsai elucidates this mystical wedding as he describes the neophyte emerging from the baptismal font:

> He resembles a babe when he is lifted up from the midst of the water; and as a babe everyone embraces and kisses him. Instead of swaddling-clothes they cast garments upon his limbs, and clothe him as a bridegroom on the day of the marriage-supper. He also fulfills a sort of marriage-supper in baptism; and by his clothing he depicts the glory that is prepared for him. By the beauty of his garments he proclaims the beauty that is to be: here is a type, but there the truth which is not simulated. To the Kingdom of the height which is not dissolved he is summoned and called; and the type depicts beforehand and proclaims its truth. With a type of that glory which is incorruptible he puts on the garments, that he may imitate mystically the things to be. Mystically he dies and is raised and is clothed; mystically he imitates the life immortal.[57]

The call for catechumens to wear their white robes as though guests at the heavenly wedding feast facilitated the creation of a different vision of paradise within the baptismal rite, namely, an eschatological paradise. If initiates occupied the space of a new Eden in the baptistery, at the eucharistic altar of the church, they occupied symbolically the space of heaven itself. The initiates were clad in robes indicative of

[55] John the Deacon, "Epistola ad Senarium," 6. English translation in Whitaker and Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 211.
[56] Cf. Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery*, 196–200.
[57] Narsai, *Homiliae*, 21. English translation in Whitaker and Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 59.

their pure, heavenly state in the afterlife. Ambrose employs this metaphorical trope in *De mysteriis*. After offering typological interpretations of the Old Testament to clarify the theological symbolism of the white vestments, he explains to the catechumens that they are now adorned like Christ in his celestial glory.[58] Cyril, too, understood the Old Testament as the prefigurative source for the vesting ritual, even equating the catechumens' white raiment with the prophet Isaiah's "garments of salvation" (Isa. 61.10).[59] More important, however, is his charge to the initiates to continue wearing the vestments symbolically: "Now, having stripped off your old garments and put on spiritually white ones, you must always be clad in white. Of course, we are not saying that you should always wear white-colored garments, but rather, out of necessity, wear truly white, radiant, and spiritual garments...."[60] The charge is twofold. Cyril compels the initiates to clothe themselves in purity as they live out the remainder of their terrestrial lives in Christ, but a further implication is that they will bear these garments of purity as they meet Christ in the paradise of heaven. In two early-medieval manuscripts, the Missale Gothicum (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. reg. lat. 317) from ca. 700 and the Stowe Missal (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D II 3) from ca. 750, the white garments of the initiates are linked specifically with an eschatological vision, as the neophytes wear the robes before the judgment

[58] Ambrose of Milan, *De mysteriis*, 7. Zeno of Verona, also writing in the fourth century in northern Italy, uses similar language to describe the garments: "In fontem quidem nudi demergemini, sed aetherea veste vestiti mox candidati inde surgetis; quam qui non polluerit, regna coelestia possidebit: per Dominum Jesum Christum" (PG 11, col. 481). See also Gordon P. Jeanes, *The Day Has Come! Easter and Baptism in Zeno of Verona*, Alcuin Club Collection 73 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 178, n. 86, where Migne's verb "demergemini" is amended correctly to "demergetis" and the noun in the second clause to "aetheria."

[59] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 4.8.

[60] Ibid., 4.8: "Νῦν δὲ ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ παλαιὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὰ πνευματικῶς λευκά, χρὴ λευχειμονεῖν διαπαντός. Οὐ πάντως τοῦτο λέγομεν, ὅτι σε δεῖ λευκὰ περιβεβλῆσθαι ἱμάτια ἀεί, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄντως λευκὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ πνευματικὰ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι περιβεβλῆσθαι, ἵνα λέγῃς κατὰ τὸν μακάριον...." In Piédagnel, 142.

seat of Christ.[61]

*Milk and Honey in the Promised Land*

After the catechumens were baptized and issued white garments, they entered a procession from the baptistery through the church to the high altar before the apse. Here they received their first Eucharist, which was the culmination of their vision of paradise, for the Eucharist enabled them to ingest and thereby commune with the very body of Christ, and at the same time it gave them a foretaste of the eschatological wedding of Christ and the Church in heaven (Rev. 19.7). However, the sacramental elements of bread and wine—Christ's body and blood—were not the only forms of spiritual nourishment administered to the newly-baptized Christians. Probably from at least the second century, a milk and honey mixture was introduced to the liturgy of the first Eucharist for neophytes.[62] Tertullian writes of the practice in *De corona*, stating that the churches of Carthage (or perhaps more broadly in North Africa) had adopted the liturgical tradition handed down to them, and that the tradition was just as authoritative as scripture.[63] The *Traditio apostolica* also attests to the early adoption of the practice alongside the Eucharist and states that it is directly related to the Exodus narrative, in which the ancient Israelites were brought out of bondage in

[61] Missale Gothicum, fols. 165r–165v, under the rubric "DVM VESTIMENTVM EI INPONIS DICIS": "Accipe uestem candidam quam inmaculatam perferas | ante tribunal domini nostri Iesu Christi. Amen." In Els Rose, ed., *Missale gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (CCSL), vol. 159D (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 450. Stowe Missal, fols. 58r–58v: "Et dat uestem candida[m] diacon[us] sup[er] caput eius i[n] frontae et dum uestimento candido tegit[ur] dicit p[re]spiter: Accipe uestem candida[m] s[anct]am et i[m]maculatum quam p[er]feras ante tribunal d[omi]ni n[ostr]i ie[s]u chr[ist]i...." In George F. Warner, ed., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, vol. 2 (London: Harrison and Sons for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915), 31–32.

[62] Milk and honey were offered only to neophytes at their first Eucharist, after which only bread and wine were administered. The distinctions in the two Eucharistic rites may have caused some confusion for North African bishops, for at the Third Council of Carthage in 397, it became necessary to define the former as appropriate only for the baptismal mysteries (and specifically for infants) and the latter as the regular liturgy of the Eucharist (cf. Canon 24).

[63] Tertullian, *De corona*, 3.

Egypt to Canaan, the Promised Land that flowed with milk and honey (cf. Ex. 3.8, 17; 13.5; 33.3).[64]

The story of the Israelite exodus offered a convenient archetype for Early Christian baptism, with the pivotal moments of the narrative finding their realizations in the actions of the liturgy. The Israelites were oppressed as slaves in Egypt. They cried out to God to rescue them. God provided Moses and Aaron as divine agents of redemption. As the Israelites traveled to the Promised Land, they were pursued by their oppressor, the pharoah of Egypt, who was drowned in the waters of the Red Sea, while the Israelites were saved by those same waters. And finally, the Israelites passed over into the Promised Land, where they prospered and established a new kingdom. Bishops and priests commonly preached to catechumens that they were like the Israelites, oppressed by the world and slaves to Satan. Christ heard their cries and rescued them from bondage. The bishops and priests administering baptism were akin to Moses and Aaron.

Catechumens had to remain diligent during the period of scrutiny preceding baptism to ensure that they did not succumb to the devil who pursued them. The waters of baptism destroyed the power of the devil and redeemed the initiates. And ultimately, the initiates were ushered into paradise, where they lived eternally with Christ in the New Jerusalem. The exodus-baptism relationship appears frequently in Early Christian literature. Tertullian's *De baptismo* offers the earliest typological interpretation of the Exodus narrative as a prefiguration of baptism: "Indeed, first of all, when the people, released from Egypt, escaped the power of the pharaoh of Egypt by crossing through water, the water then extinguished that pharaoh along with his entire army. What narrative is more manifest in the sacrament of baptism? Certainly,

[64] *Traditio apostolica*, 21.27

nations are liberated from this present life through water, and they abandon that ancient, diabolical ruler in the water."[65] For Tertullian, as well as the authors of many later baptismal liturgies, the baptismal font was as much of a locus of salvation for the initiates as it was a place marked for Satan's demise. Catechumens abandoned Satan once and for all in the waters of baptism, committing themselves to Christ, and therefore the waters of the Red Sea in the Exodus story became a powerful symbol of salvation for the Christian and destruction for the devil. Origen, writing only a few decades after Tertullian, described the typological relationship between Exodus and baptism with even greater complexity, drawing similar parallels between pharaoh and Satan and the Red Sea and baptism.[66] The typological use of the Red Sea as baptismal font is echoed in Zeno of Verona's fourth-century *De Exodo*, where he casts initiates in the roles of the ancient Israelites when he states that, "Finally, the Israelites arrived at the desert after crossing the sea. We arrive in paradise after baptism...The sweetness of milk and honey was given to those in the desert. However, an even greater reward of eternal life, sweeter than honey and whiter than milk, will be given to us by the blessedness of God in his kingdom."[67] In his exegesis of the crossing of the Red Sea, Zeno contrasts the barren wasteland of the desert that awaited the Israelites with the paradise offered to those entering the waters of baptism. Even the milk and honey of the Promised Land, which were emblems of God's provision, are described by Zeno as inferior rewards compared with eternal life in paradise.

---

[65] Tertullian, *De baptismo*, 9: "Primum quidem, cum populus de Aegypto [libere] expeditus vim regis Aegypti per aquam transgressus evadit, ipsum regem cum totis copiis aqua extinguit. Quae figura manifestior in baptismi sacramento? Liberantur de saeculo nationes per aquam scilicet, et diabolum dominatorem pristinum in aqua oppressum derelinquunt," in *De baptismo liber. Homily on Baptism*, ed. and trans. Ernest Evans (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), 18.
[66] Origen, *Homiliae in Exodum*, 5.4–5.
[67] Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus*, 2.63: *De Exodo X*: "Denique illi post mare ad eremum pervenerunt: nos post baptismum ad paradisum pervenimus...Illis in deserto suavitas lactis et mellis exhibita est: nobis vero, quod plus est, melle dulcior ac lacte candidior, aeternae vitae beatitudo Dei tribuetur in regno" (PG 11, col. 519).

The eastern mystagogical theologians of the fourth century were particularly fond of the Exodus narrative when instructing their catechumens before baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa all constructed lessons on the typology of baptism and the exodus from Egypt, with the Promised Land as the culmination of God's salvific grace.[68] John the Deacon, explaining the practice in Rome, equates this Promised Land with the eschatological paradise now promised to the neophytes after entering the Christian community:

> You ask why milk and honey are placed in a most sacred cup and offered with the sacrifice at the Paschal Sabbath. The reason is that it is written in the Old Testament and in a figure promised to the New People: *I shall lead you into a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey* [Lev. 20.24]. The land of promise, then, is the land of resurrection to everlasting bliss, it is nothing else than the land of our body, which in the resurrection of the dead shall attain to the glory of incorruption and peace. This kind of sacrament, then, is offered to the newly-baptized so that they may realize that no others but they, who partake of the Body and Blood of the Lord, shall receive the land of promise...As new men therefore, abandoning the bitterness of sin, they drink milk and honey: so that they who in their first birth were nourished with the milk of corruption and first shed tears of bitterness, in their second birth may taste the sweetness of milk and honey in the bowels of the Church, so that being nourished upon such sacraments they may be dedicated to the mysteries of perpetual incorruption.[69]

John's explanation of the milk and honey mixture is perhaps the most nuanced among the Early Christian sources. It not only alludes to the obvious parallel to the Exodus narrative and employs the motif of the Promised Land as archetype of celestial paradise, but it also posits that paradise now dwells within the bodies of the neophytes. They themselves are the bearers of the new Eden in Christ. Their bodies have been transformed into receptacles of the holy and divine.

With the pervasiveness of the Exodus story in the baptismal liturgies of both the Latin West and Byzantine East, the administration of milk and honey became a

---

[68] Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *De mysteriis*, 1.2–3; Basil of Caesarea, *De baptismo*, 2; Gregory of Nyssa, *In diem luminum*.

[69] John the Deacon, "Epistola ad Senarium," 12. English translation in Whitaker and Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 211–212.

visual cue to the catechumens that they had, in fact, reached the new Promised Land—the new Eden—after their long sojourn in the desert of sin and separation from God.

*Conclusion*

The role of paradise in Early Christian baptismal liturgies is made explicit enough in exegetical and catechetical writings from the second or third to seventh centuries to allay any doubt that Early Christian theologians and the bishops and priests administering baptism thought of the rite as a triumphal procession back through the gates of paradise, a cleansing in the rivers of the mythic garden, and a restoration to humanity's pristine, prelapsarian state. This literary trope was far more prevalent in the liturgical writings of Greek and Syriac theologians in the Byzantine provinces of the Levant and eastern Mediterranean littoral, where the relationship between baptism and paradise likely originated before being exported to the Latin West. However, by the fourth century, when Ambrose wrote his mystagogical catecheses, the motif of paradise had suffused the baptismal liturgies of Milan, Verona, and Rome, and in a matter of decades would take root in North Africa, Ravenna, and the eastern Adriatic. Indeed, based on the donations of Emperor Constantine to the Lateran baptistery that were recorded in the *Liber pontificalis*, it seems likely that Rome had already incorporated themes of paradise into its baptismal liturgy in the early-fourth century.[70]

These paradisiacal motifs in Early Christian baptismal liturgies facilitated the drama of the return to paradise, but they were only part of the constructed vision. The ability to view or to participate in the drama was carefully controlled through

[70] On the gold and silver sculpture group donated by Constantine (*Liber pontificalis*, 34.13) and its paradisiacal motifs, see especially Olof Brandt, "Deer, Lambs and Water in the Lateran Baptistery," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 81 (2005): 131–156.

architectural framing devices that not only manipulated sight-lines and liturgical movements, but they also created spatial barriers that protected the sanctity of the baptismal font where the drama was enacted. Moreover, the staging of the experience was multisensory and performative. Catechumens listened to the script of the liturgy and interacted with its discourse. In Ambrose's church at Milan (and probably elsewhere), they chanted Ps. 42 as they entered the baptistery, their voices resonating off of the walls.[71] They imagined their feet treading upon the soil of paradise as they traversed the smooth surfaces of marble revetment or the rough textures of mosaic pavements. Their naked bodies felt the chill of the baptismal water and its symbolic purgation of sin, followed by the warmth of new white garments that emblematized their spiritual transformation. They smelled incense and tasted sweet milk, honey, wine, and bread. Each of these sensory elements, if not originally designed to accentuate the experience of inhabiting paradise, was at least interpreted as such in many baptismal liturgies and expositions of the rite of baptism. The most stunning accent of this paradisiacal space, however, was the visual and material repertoire that was used to represent paradise, both as an Edenic space on earth and a celestial space in heaven. Having examined the ways in which these paradisiacal spaces were understood and constructed within a theatrical-liturgical framework, we now turn to the decoration of the baptismal space.

[71] Ambrose of Milan, *De sacramentis*, 4.2, 7; idem, *De mysteriis*, 8.43. Ps. 42 found its pictorial expression in numerous baptisteries throughout the Mediterranean, beginning with the Lateran. On this motif, see Chapter 2.

# CHAPTER 3

## Reconstructing Paradise in the Baptisteries of the Late-Antique Mediterranean

The architectural setting of Early Christian baptism established key parameters for manipulating vision by concealing and then strategically revealing elements of the Edenic drama as it unfolded. Catechetical sermons and baptismal liturgies made the unveiling of paradise explicit to catechumens, priming them for a spiritual transformation of the senses. But it was the iconography of paradise and its imagined agency that ultimately transformed baptismal space into the locus of a new Eden. The earliest extant baptistery at Dura-Europos (fig. 3.1) contained images of Adam and Eve below the figure of Christ the Good Shepherd and his flock, indicating that the connection between baptism and the Garden of Eden almost certainly had become a theological trope in Early Christian art from its earliest stages.[1] It is unclear, however, if the designers of the Dura baptistery conceived of the interior space as a renewed Eden that catechumens occupied as new Adams and Eves or if the fresco of Adam and Eve was intended for didactic purposes in the liturgy. The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, but didacticism and using the biblical narrative as a typology for salvation is more likely. There are no other elements within the baptistery to suggest an attempt to depict paradise illusionistically or even hint at a proposed union of the physical space of the baptistery and the metaphysical space, or vision, of a prelapsarian paradise. Moreover, the adjacent scenes along the walls of the baptistery, showing Christ rescuing Peter as he walks on the Sea of Galilee, the healing of the paralytic, David and Goliath, the Samaritan woman at the well, and the

[1] On the paradisiacal context of the Dura-Europos baptistery, see especially Lucinda Dirven, "Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained: The Meaning of Adam and Eve in the Baptistery of Dura-Europos," *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008): 43–57.

three Marys at the tomb of Christ, alluding to his resurrection, are all salvific typologies.

By the early-fourth century, with the legalization of Christianity in the Roman Empire and Emperor Constantine's patronage of Christian building programs in Rome, the earliest attempts to recreate the locus of paradise inside the baptistery emerge at San Giovanni in Laterano, originally dedicated to the Christ the Savior and usually regarded as the first imperial commission following Constantine's vision of the cross and his defeat of Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. The original interior decoration from the Constantinian era is no longer extant. The lavish silver and gold statues that once adorned the rim of the original baptismal font were likely plundered as spoils of war during the sack of Rome in 410 under the Visigothic army of Alaric. Fortunately, however, the Constantinian inventory was recorded in detail in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where it is said that Constantine, under the direction of Pope Sylvester, installed in or around the baptismal font nearly life-size silver statues of Christ and John the Baptist; a golden lamb bearing an inscription from Jn. 1.29; a golden, jewel-encrusted thurible for burning incense; and seven silver stags positioned around the baptismal font, which itself was constructed of porphyry adorned with silver revetment (fig. 3.2).[2] In the center of the font stood a porphyry column surmounted by a golden candle for burning balsam on the eve of Easter, when baptisms occurred.

The depiction of Christ's baptism within the Lateran baptistery had obvious mimetic valences, similar to the Orthodox and Arian baptisteries (figs. 1.3, 1.22) in Ravenna in the mid-fifth and early-sixth century. Catechumens imitated Christ as they submitted to the ritual of baptism at the hands of the bishop or priest, who fulfilled the

[2] Cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, 31.1.314–31.12.335.

archetype of John the Baptist shown around the Lateran font's rim. The seven silver stags, however, refer to Ps. 42.1: "As the deer pants for streams of water, | so my soul pants for you, my God."[3] Ps. 42 was widely recognized as a baptismal typology among Early Christian theologians, and in some Christian communities, such as Ambrose's late-fourth century church in Milan, catechumens chanted Ps. 42 as they entered the baptistery.[4] The relationship between Ps. 42 and baptism is made explicit in a threshold mosaic from what was either the *consignatorium* (hall where catechumens would have been signed and sealed with chrism after baptism) or *catechumeneum* (catechetical hall used for pre-baptismal instruction) that led into the baptistery proper of the episcopal complex at Salona, Croatia (fig. 3.3). The mosaic disappeared sometime between 1855 and 1873,[5] but a watercolor made by Francesco Carrara in 1850 (fig. 3.4) shows two stags drinking from a *kantharos* fountain, along with the text of Ps. 42: "SIC[UT] [SER]VVS DESIDERAT AD FONTES AQVARVM ITA DESIDERAT ANIMA MEA AD TE DEVS." The context of the psalm is bucolic, even paradisiacal, as it describes an idyllic landscape where nature is nourished by the provisions of God.

This motif of deer nourished by streams would soon after become systematized in Early Christian art as the most recognizable emblem of paradise. Pairs of deer, or occasionally peacocks or doves, were displayed as confronted figures

[3] For an analysis of the iconography of the Lateran baptistery statues and their relationship to Ps. 42 and paradise within the baptismal liturgy, see especially Olof Brandt, "Deer, Lambs and Water in the Lateran Baptistery," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 81 (2005): 131–156.
[4] Ambrose of Milan, *De sacramentis*, 4.2, 7; idem, *De mysteriis*, 8.43.
[5] Cf. Francesco Carrara, *De' scavi di Salona nel 1848*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 2, Abteiling 2 (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1851), 3–4, plate II; and Nancy Gauthier, "Mosaïque aux deux cerfs," in *Salona IV : inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV$^{e}$–VII$^{e}$ siècles*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 194/4, eds. Jean-Pierre Caillet et al. (Rome; Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 2010), 241–242. On the archaeological context of the baptistery, including the location of the inscription and its discovery, see also D. Rendić-Miočević, "Question de la chronologie du développement des basiliques doubles de Salone," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 77 (1984): 175–186; T. Marasović, "Il complesso episcopale Salonitano nel VI–VII secolo," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaelogiae christianae, Split-Poreč (25. 9.–1. 10. 1994)*, vol. 2, Studi di antichità cristiana 54, ed. N. Cambi and E. Marin (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1998), 1003–1014.

that flank a central *kantharos* or *krater*, which often serves as a fountain or the source of a flowing stream at the feet of the animals. More than any other visual cue, it was this singular motif, and variations upon it that were introduced in Early Christian baptisteries and basilicas, that led to the construction of paradisiacal space and the trope of the Edenic return in the baptismal liturgy. Before examining the iconography of paradise proper, it is important to understand what Early Christian aesthetic trends were responding to and modifying for an increasingly sophisticated discourse on salvation in Late Antiquity. The following section, therefore, will delve briefly into the Roman origins of paradise and paradisiacal iconography to better understand the critical transition that occurs in the Constantinian era and beyond. This occurs predomininantly in Roman bath culture and the pleasures of the nymphaeum, both of which also provide much of the architectural influence for containing and displaying paradise in the Early Christian baptistery. Just as chapter 1 used preexisting architecture in the form of Roman mausolea and amphitheaters to establish a common design vocabulary for controlling vision and bodily movement within space, chapter 3 will introduce the architectural predecessors that influenced the way in which Early Christian designers conceived of paradise simultaneously as a metaphysical space available to catechumens with the spiritual insight to perceive it and a physical space that could be contained and controlled within the confines of the baptistery.

*Architectural Forerunners: Roman Baths and Aquatic Infrastructure*

For the architectural and decorative design of Early Christian baptismal fonts and the paradisiacal imagery surrounding them, the influence of Roman aquatic infrastructure was the obvious choice, most notably baths. Not only the architectural design of the Roman baths, but also the engineering involved in constructing their hydraulic systems for filling, draining, and heating interior water basins provided the

necessary infrastructure for many of the earliest Christian baptisteries and their centralized fonts. This included pressure-based and gravity transmission mains linked to city aqueducts and cisterns, as well as hypocaust systems for heating water. Indeed, bath complexes were frequently converted into Christian baptismal spaces, precisely because the existing infrastructure was already in place for designing a ritualized space for baptism. Even the Lateran baptistery, the earliest officially sanctioned by a Roman emperor (figs. 1.18, 2.1–2.4), was constructed over the remains of a second-century CE bath complex.[6] And baptisteries throughout the empire were at times constructed inside or on top of preexisting baths during the fifth and sixth centuries, such as Cimiez (Cemenelum), now part of Nice, France (fig. 3.5)[7]; the baptistery of

[6] On the excavations under the Lateran baptistery and adjacent basilica, see G. B. Giovenale, *Il battistero Lateranense : nelle recenti indagini della Pont. Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*, Studi di antichità cristiana 1 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1929); Giovanni Pelliccioni and Eva Margareta Steinby, *Le nuove scoperte sulle origini del Battistero lateranense*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie III, vol. 12.1 (Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1973); Carlo Pietrangeli and Ugo Poletti, eds., *San Giovanni in Laterano* (Florence: Nardini, 1990); Valnea Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il Laterano imperiale, Vol. 1: Dalle "aedes Laterani" alla "Domus Faustae,"* Monumenta di antichità cristiana 2, series 11 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1991); Scrinari, *Il Laterano imperiale, Vol. II: Dagli "horti Domitiae" alla Cappella cristiana*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2, series 11 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1995); Scrinari, *Il Laterano imperiale, Vol. III: La proprietà di Licinio Sura e il problema degli acquedotti*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2, series 11 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1997); Paolo Liverani, *Laterano, Vol. 1: Scavi sotto la Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano*, Monumenta Sanctae Sedis 1 (Vatican City: Direzione generale dei Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, 1998); and Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti and Eugenio Russo, *La basilica del Salvatore poi di S. Giovanni al Laterano, cattedrale di Roma* (San Marino: Asset Banca; Pazzini, 2013).

[7] Cf. Armen Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens : plans, notices et bibliographie*, École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Collection chrétienne et byzantine (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1962), 291; Fernand Benoit, "Les fouilles de Cimiez," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 106, no. 2 (1962): 207–219; Benoit, "Le baptistère de Cimiez," in *Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Ravenna, 23–30 settembre 1962*, vol. 1, Studi di antichità cristiana 26 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1965), 147–158; F. M. Buhler, *Les baptistères en France : de l'époque paléochrétienne à la période romane. Inventaire descriptif* (Mulhouse: Centre de culture chrétienne, 1975), 22; Marguerite David-Roy, "Les baptistères de la Gaule," *Archeologia* 135 (1979): 51–59; Yvette Duval, "Nice – Cimiez," in *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule, des origines au milieu du VIII^e siècle*, vol. 2, Provinces ecclésiastiques d'Aix et d'Embrun (Narbonensis Secunda et Alpes Maritimae), eds. Nancy Gauthier and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: De Boccard, 1986), 77–88; Jean Guyon, "Baptistères et groupes épiscopaux de Provence : élaboration, diffusion et devenir d'un type architectural," in *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste, 21–28 septembre 1986*, vol. 2, Collection de l'École française de Rome 123 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989), 1427–1449; Sebastian Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 27 (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1998), 144, cat. no. 199; Monique Jannet Vallat, "Cimiez /

Santa Maria Maggiore at Nocera Superiore, Italy (fig. 3.6)[8]; Djémila (Cuicul) in Algeria (figs. 1.1–1.2, 1.5–1.8, 1.16, 4.23–4.27, 4.31–4.36)[9]; Bir Ftouha in Carthage, Tunisia (figs. 3.7–3.8)[10]; or Butrint (Βουθρωτόν/Buthrotum) in Albania (fig. 1.19).[11]

---

*Cemelenum* (Alpes-Maritimes)," in *Capitales éphémères. Des Capitales de cités perdent leur statut dans l'Antiquité tardive, Actes du colloque Tours, 6–8 mars 2003)*, Supplément à la Revue archéologique du centre de la France 25 (Tours: Féderation pour l'édition de la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 2004), 405–410; Sandrine Ardisson, "Présentation des sites de Cimiez et de Nice (colline du château) : nouvelles approches," in *Capitales éphémères*, 247–254; and Jannet Vallat, "Le Bapitstère de Cimiez dans son environnement : nouvelles approches," in *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*, vol. 2, ed. Mario Marcenaro (Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007), 863–890.

[8] Cf. Henri Leclercq, "Baptistère," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 2, eds. Fernand Cabrol, Henri Leclercq, and Henri-Irénée Marrou (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1925), 424ff.; Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens*, 350; Daria de Bernardi Ferrero, "Il battistero di Canosa nel quadro dell'architettura dell'Europa bizantina," *Puglia paleocristiana* 3 (1979): 163–176; Pasquale Testini, Gisella Cantino Wataghin, and Letizia Ermini Pani, "La Cattedrale in Italia: nota introduttiva," in *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 123, vol. 1, ed. Noël Duval (Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989), 5–57; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 186, cat. no. 336; Olof Brandt, "Osservazioni sul battistero paleocristiano di Nocera Superiore," *Opuscula romana* 31–32 (2006–2007): 189–202; and idem, *Battisteri oltre la pianta. Gli alzati di nove battisteri paleocristiani in Italia*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 64 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2012), 133–190.

[9] Cf. Paul Monceaux, "Cuicul chrétien (Numidie)," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 1 (1923): 89–112; idem, "Découverte d'un groupe d'édifices chrétiens à Djemila," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 5 (1922): 380–407; Albert Ballu, *Guide illustré de Djémila (Antique Cuicul)* (Algiers: Ancienne Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1926); 14–42; Louis Leschi, *Cvicvl de Nvmidie: Toute une cité de l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1938), 7, 34ff.; Yvonne Allais, *Djémila*, Le monde romain, Collection publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938), 28ff.; Eugène Albertini, "Une nouvelle basilique civile à Cuicul (Djemila)," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 87, no. 3 (1943): 376–386; Jérôme Carcopino, "Note additionnelle à la communication de M. Albertini du 27 août 1943, 'Une nouvelle basilique civile à Cuicul (Djemila),'" *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 87, no. 3 (1943): 387–395; M. Leglay, "Note sur quelques baptistères d'Algérie," in *Actes du V^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence 13–19 septembre 1954*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 22 (Vatican City; Paris: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Société d'Édition "Les Belles-Lettres," 1957), 401–406; Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens*, 259, 273; Paul-Albert Février, *Djémila* (Algiers: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 1968), 78ff.; Yvonne Allais, "Le quartier occidental de Djemila (Cuicul)," *Antiquités africaines* 5 (1971): 95–120; Noël Duval, "L'évêque et la cathédrale en Afrique du Nord," in *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne,* 345–403; Isabelle Gui, Noël Duval, and Jean-Pierre Caillet, *Basiliques chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord*, vol. 1, *Inventaire de l'Algérie*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 129 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992), 95; and Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 117, cat. no. 75.

[10] Cf. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens*, 247; P.-G. Lapeyre, "La basilique chrétienne de Tunisie," in *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Città del Vaticano, 16–22 ottobre 1938*, vol. 1, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 16 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1940), 169–244, at 206ff.; Noël Duval, "Études d'architecture chrétienne nord-africaine," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 84, no. 2 (1972): 1071–1172, at 1120ff.; idem, "Études d'archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine, XVII : une nouvelle cuve baptismale dans le centre de Carthage," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 34, no. 1 (1988): 86–92; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 304, cat. no. 921; and Susan T. Stevens, Angela V. Kalinowski, and Hans Vanderleest,

The existing space and hidden infrastructure (such as hypocausts or water transmission mains) were also conducive to the construction of Christian chapels and churches during the same period, with or without a discernible baptistery. In North Africa, for instance, the so-called Small Baths at M'Daourouch (Madauros) in Algeria (fig. 3.9) were converted into a Christian church (Church III)[12]; and at Makhtar (Mactaris), Tunisia, the West Baths (fig. 3.10) near the Schola of Juvenes were converted into a Christian church as well.[13] Even when baths were not converted into baptisteries formally, they were known to have served on occasion as spaces for the ritual of baptism, as Palladius of Galatia relates for one such bath complex in Constantinople at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.[14]

People entered the watery pools of the baths naked, much as catechumens would be required to do in baptism. The design of the Roman bath complex provided not only the archetype for many Early Christian baptismal fonts, but also baths served in their own right as ritual spaces for social meetings and interactions, political and religious discourse, education, and they were integral to the daily life of most Roman cities. To enter the Roman baths was to enter a performative space that either

---

eds., *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplement 59 (Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2005).

[11] Cf. Luigi M. Ugolini, "Il battistero di Butrinto," *Rivista d'archeologia cristiana* 11, no. 3 (1934): 265–283; Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens*, 71; Ioannes Volanakes, Τα παλαιοχριστιανικά βαπτιστήρια της Ελλάδος, Βιβλιοθήκη της Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 84 (Athens: Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 1976), 86ff.; Aleksandër Meksi, "Bazilika e Madhe dhe Baptisteri i Butrintit [La grande basilique et le baptistère de Butrint]," *Monumentet* 25, no. 1 (1983): 47–75; Reiner Sörries, "Frühchristliche Denkmäler in Albanien," *Antike Welt* 14, no. 4 (1983): 7–26; Guntram Koch, "Frühchristliche und byzantische Zeit (4.–8. Jh.)," in *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren. Die Ausstellung wird veranstaltet vom Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim*, ed. Arne Eggebrecht (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1988), 118–145; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 114–115, cat. no. 66; William Bowden and Luan Përzhita, "The Baptistery," in *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*, eds. Richard Hodges, William Bowden, and Kosta Lako (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), 176–201; and John Mitchell, *Pagëzimorja e Butrintit dhe mozaikët e saj [The Butrint Baptistery and Its Mosaics]* (London: Butrint Foundation, 2008).

[12] Cf. Gui et al., *Basiliques chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord*, vol. 1, 332; and Yvon Thébert, *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur contexte méditerranéen : études d'histoire et d'archéologie*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 315 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), 216–218.

[13] Cf. Thébert, *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord*, 146.

[14] Palladius, *Dialogus* 9.

introduced or sustained an individual within the expectations of a social code of not only public hygiene, but more importantly as recipients of the myriad pleasures of the baths and as active participants in Roman society.[15] Class structures and other social barriers were more easily deconstructed in the Roman baths, as men and women gathered to exercise, relax, recuperate, and enjoy the cleansing and healing benefits of the bath complex. The "illusion of a classless society," as Fikret Yegül writes, was more easily maintained within the Roman bath-house, but it was an illusion nonetheless, whereby slaves and masters, high-born and low, were no more likely to transcend the confines and expectations of their social status by fraternizing in the baths than they would be in any other social institution.[16]

Deconstructing social hierarchies would become a central theme in Early Christian baptistery and ritual design, but it is unclear how well the illusion of equality was maintained in liturgical space. Catecheses and baptismal liturgies from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages refer almost universally to the practice of naked baptism, which suggests, at its core, a forced ideal of social equality. Requiring catechumens to discard their clothes and enter the font naked, stripped of jewelry or

[15] Studies on the pleasures of the baths and Roman bath culture in general have flourished in the last twenty-five years. See especially Erika Bröder, *Die römischen Thermen und das antike Badewesen: Ein kulturhistorische Betrachtung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983); Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, "*Baiarum grata voluptas*: Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57 (1989): 6–46; Inge Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*, 2 vols. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990); Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York; Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1992); J. DeLaine and D. E. Johnston, eds., *Roman Baths and Bathing: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths Held at Bath, England, 30 March–4 April 1992*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 37 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999); Garrett G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Thébert, *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord*; Rebecca Molholt, "On Stepping Stones: The Historical Experience of Roman Mosaics," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 2008); Yegül, *Bathing in the Roman World* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Molholt, "Roman Labyrinth Mosaics and the Experience of Motion," *Art Bulletin* 93, no. 3 (2011): 287–303. For a more focused study on the postclassical period, including the late-antique/early-Byzantine period, see Johannes Zellinger, *Bad und Bäder in der altchristlichen Kirche eine Studie über Christentum und Antike* (Munich: Huber, 1928); and Albrecht Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischer Zeit*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27 (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1982).

[16] Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 32.

other emblems that might highlight social status, reduced all participants in the baptismal rite to an equal position before the sight of both human and divine witnesses. Bathing naked in the Roman bath-house alongside other city residents—whether high-born, low-born, freedmen, or slaves—had already socially conditioned the earliest Christian converts to the practice of naked baptism.[17] In Roman bathing culture, however, one could still project social status within the bath-house by asserting control over the networks of colleagues, friends, and family members who interacted with the individual. Ultimately, this would have mitigated vulnerability, but in the Early Christian baptistery, that level of social control was presumably absent, with the priest or bishop presiding over the ceremony and in control of the immediate social network that brought the initiates together as inductees into the body of Christ. If Christianity appropriated part of the social context of Roman bathing for the practice of baptism, then it also worked to dismantle any remaining social hierarchies to guarantee that each catechumen entered into the presence of God or experienced epiphany in the baptistery on more or less equal terms. Unlike the Roman baths, where social groups could be more easily delineated, the baptistery seems to have afforded little opportunity for catechumens to assert their social standing.

This social context for Early Christian baptism worked in tandem with the architectural, liturgical, and iconographical concerns for constructing and manipulating baptismal space. As noted in chapter 1, the deconstruction of hierarchies in Early Christian baptisteries was not limited to class. Processing around a centralized baptismal font and eschewing a primary, static view of the baptismal waters helped ensure that spatial hierarchies were mutable rather than fixed. The use of ciborium columns, ambulatories (such as at Djémila), or internal structural support

[17] Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 147.

columns naturally fragmented the initiate's view of the central ritualized space of the font. And requiring catechumens to wait until the eve of Easter Sunday or Pentecost to receive baptism enhanced the anticipation of seeing and experiencing the mysteries of baptismal space. As the rhetoric of Early Christian baptism makes clear, these ritual spaces were strictly off-limits to catechumens until the ceremony was initiated and catechumens had received proper instruction.[18] In other words, no single individual had any more social standing than another to obtain privileged access to this centrally important cult space. Shrouding the baptistery in this level of mystery naturally created a paradigm for concealment and revelation that could be used for controlling epiphany or the experience of paradise.

Roman bath culture helped create Early Christian baptismal culture in Late Antiquity precisely because it was so pervasive. Nearly every Roman city and even small towns throughout the empire had at least one major public bath, and quite often many more were scattered throughout the city in addition to smaller *balnea* that were built inside houses or housing blocks.[19] By 403 CE, Rome had 10 *thermae* and 856 *balnea*, registered in the *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV* from ca. 357–403.[20] And it was not uncommon for even the smallest of provincial towns, including those in provincial regions such as North Africa, to have at least two or three baths

[18] Scholars of Early Christian literature often take for granted that the rhetoric of baptism in Late Antiquity suggests that exceedingly few people were allowed inside baptismal space except for when it was in active use once or twice a year. This rhetoric, however, may simply be part of the literary flourish of mystagogical catecheses that helped shroud these ritual spaces in mystery. For as elaborately decorated and centrally important as Early Christian baptisteries were, it is difficult to imagine them as desolate, uninhabited spaces where the complex iconographical and material programs were invisible to congregants most of the time. Moreover, there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that Early Christian baptisteries were not in use for other purposes throughout the year.
[19] Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 30ff.
[20] Cf. Henri Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1871), 568–569, 573. The ten baths listed are those of "Traianae, Titianae, Commodianae, Antoninianae, Syranae, Agrippianae, Alexandrinae, Diocletianae, Constantinianae, and Severianae." In the *Notitia urbis Regionum*, composed in ca. 334–357 CE, the same list is given, although "Syranae" is spelled "Surae" and the Decian Baths (*Thermae Decianae*) are listed as the eleventh public bath in the city's registry. The number of *balnea* is consistent in each registry, although the names are not provided.

available for its residents.[21]

Roman baths, whether large public structures (*thermae*) or more modest, often private basins (*balnea*), were convenient archetypes for the design of Early Christian baptismal space and the display of paradisiacal motifs. The *caldaria*, *tepidaria*, and *frigidaria* for hot, lukewarm, and cold water pools inside the baths were designed in myriad geometrical shapes that provided architectural models well-suited to the function of Early Christian baptismal fonts, including squares, circles, octagons, and hexagons that would come to prevail among Christian designs for both stand-alone baptisteries and the fonts located within them. *Caldaria*, *frigidaria*, and *laconica* (hot sauna rooms), in particular, were often sequestered in Roman bath houses in order to insulate them for temperature control, and they have long been recognized as possible archetypes for the Early Christian baptistery.

Late-antique baths, unfortunately, are often poorly preserved due to spoliation in the medieval and early-modern periods, when vast quantities of marble and even raw building materials such as brick were frequently reused in later structures. Some of the same designs and decorative programs, however, were present throughout the first and second centuries CE, and these bath complexes formed many of the archetypes for late-antique structures and their modifications. The *frigidarium* at the Stabian Baths at Pompeii (figs. 3.11–3.12), for instance, contains a centralized circular basin surrounded by a small ambulatory.[22] A cupola covered in frescoes vaults upward over the water below, and decorated niches are integrated into the

[21] Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 186.
[22] The *frigidarium* in the Stabian Baths was originally a *laconicum* (sauna) before being converted into a cold-water bath. Cf. Hans Eschebach et al., *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur 13 (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1979), 11, 43ff.

circular walls.[23] The only doorway to the *frigidarium* is through the adjacent entrance hall and *apodyterium* (dressing room), which effectively separates the *frigidarium* from the surrounding structures and gives it the appearance of a stand-alone edifice with many of the same architectural features that came to characterize the Early Christian baptistery. The baths, along with the entire city of Pompeii, were buried under hot ash and abandoned after the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 CE and therefore were not a direct influence on the development of Early Christian baptismal architecture. However, the basic design of the *frigidarium* persisted long after Pompeii disappeared from memory, and its central plan, ambulatory, and interior decoration would become one of the more common designs in Roman baths and eventually the earliest purpose-built baptisteries in the fourth century.

Now a sad ruin of its former glory, the early-third century *caldarium* at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome (figs. 3.13–3.14) was designed in much the same way, constructed nearly as a stand-alone monumental circular space off of the southwestern side of the complex. The caldarium's centralized, circular hot-water pool was placed directly below a massive dome and was surrounded by an ambulatory punctuated by niches for natural light. Similar designs can be found throughout the Roman Empire and were in use well into the sixth century, including in North Africa, such as the octagonal *caldarium* in the well-known Antonine Baths at Carthage (fig. 3.15), the cruciform *caldarium* in the West Baths at Cherchel (Iol Caesarea, Algeria) (fig. 3.16, *caldarium* labeled "C"), the circular *frigidarium* in the baths at Thyna (Thaenae, Tunisia) (fig. 3.17), or the spectacularly designed polylobed *laconicum* attached to the

[23] On the Roman bath house as possible architectural influence on the development of the Early Christian baptistery, see Franz J. Dölger, "Zur Symbolik des altchristlichen Taufhauses. I. Das Oktogon und die Symbolik der Achtzahl. Die Inschrift des hl. Ambrosius im Baptisterium der Theklakirche von Mailand," *Antike und Christentum* 4 (1934): 184ff.; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 21ff.; Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae: Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 105 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 234–237.

*caldarium* at the Legionary Fortress Baths at Lambèse (Lambaesis, Algeria) (fig. 3.18).[24] The latter's polylobed design, in particular, would become one of the more popular forms for Early Christian baptismal fonts in Africa Proconsularis in the sixth century.[25]

It was not only the architectural forms within the Roman bath complex that Early Christian communities in North Africa pursued for inspiration in designing their baptismal fonts. Roman bath decoration was also a rich source for paradisiacal imagery and aquatic tropes that could be incorporated into new iconographies of salvation through baptism. Two distinct types of figural imagery predominate in Roman baths before and after the first century CE: garden landscapes and aquatic seascapes. Both came to be associated with architecture that incorporates water into its design, and both eventually find new meaning in the ecclesiastical architecture of the early Church. The garden landscape will be the focus of the present chapter, and the aquatic seascape will follow in chapter 4.

### *Nature Tamed and Framed: The* Hortus Conclusus *and Rise of Paradisiacal Imagery*

Edenic imagery in the Early Christian baptistery was an extension of the Roman concept of the enclosed garden, or *hortus conclusus*, which was frequently depicted inside Roman baths. Returning to the first-century Stabian Baths at Pompeii, for example (fig. 3.11), within the niches and along the walls of the *frigidarium* are fragments of the original fresco program before the city was destroyed[26]: a *hortus*

---

[24] For a comparison of North African bath complex typologies and their decoration in relation to contemporaneous baths across the Mediterranean, see especially Thébert, *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord*. See also Nielson, Thermae et balnea, 84–95; and Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 184–249, 449–453.

[25] See, for instance, the Tunisian baptisteries from Kélibia, Békalta, Sbeïtla (Vitalis, Bellator, and Servus), Basilica 2 at Sidi Jdidi, Sidi Mansour, Hammam Lif, Henchir Sokrine, Chatt Menzel Yahia, El-Erg, Henchir Hakaïma, Sidi Daoud, Hergla, and Uppenna. Polylobed baptismal fonts are discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

[26] For a reconstruction of the garden fresco program in the *frigidarium*, see Eschebach, *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*, plate 7b.

*conclusus* filled with idyllic flowering plants, fountains, and birds, not unlike the much better preserved and more magisterial *hortus conclusus* frescoes from the Villa of Livia, now installed in the Museo Nazionale Romano at Palazzo Massimo in Rome (fig. 3.19), or those from the House of the Golden Bracelet (or House of the Wedding of Alexander) at Pompeii (fig. 3.20) or Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis (fig. 3.21).[27] Roman bathers plunging into the cold water of the *frigidarium* of the Stabian Baths would have found visual parallels in the frescoes surrounding them, with birds bathing in and drinking from their own cold-water fountains, cleansed and nourished by the life-giving waters of the garden. Just as the *hortus conclusus* was a manufactured garden—nature "tamed" by human hands—the baths themselves complemented the visual depiction of lush gardens subject to human control, for the waters of the baths equally were elements of a tamed landscape, their transmission through aqueducts, storage in cisterns, and manipulation as water works in the bath-house itself functioning as a testimony to human ingenuity and the prowess of Roman engineering.[28] Roman bathers presiding over the natural world and enjoying its beauty—or imagining themselves in such a position, surrounded by visual cues of both their dominion over and relationship to nature—was not unlike Early Christian catechumens, as reborn Adams and Eves, occupying a watery baptismal space surrounded by visual elements of paradise that transformed the ritual space into a prelapsarian Eden under their control, and whose beauty and soul-nourishing properties were ever at their disposal through a salvation offered by the Church.

[27] On the relationship between living and represented nature at Oplontis, see Bettina Bergmann, "Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis," in *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, and the Herculaneum 'Basilica'*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplement 47 (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2002), 87–121.
[28] On the Roman ideology of confinement in garden space, see Bettina Bergmann, "The Concept of Boundary in the Roman Garden," in *Le jardin dans l'antiquité : introduction et huit exposés suivis de discussions,* Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 60 (Vandoeuvres: Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique, 2014), 245–300.

Smaller, private baths in Roman houses were equally concerned with imagery of the garden retreat as paradisiacal space. Within the small, private *balneum* in the Complesso di Giulia Felice at Pompeii (fig. 3.22), the walls were covered in naturalistic images of a *hortus conclusus* that presumably would have stimulated the senses of the bather, not only visually, but also synaesthetically.[29] A vision of a lush and vibrant garden was designed almost certainly to correlate to the sound of rippling water in the bath itself and the sound of actual birds within the house's nearby peristyle.[30] The images suggest real sounds, haptic surfaces of actual materials, and perhaps also the scent of flowers and herbs in the house's exterior garden or the taste of fruit from the trees in its orchard. The visual sense stimulates the other human senses, prompting the bather to experience through physical sensory perception the elements of an exterior garden space that can only exist in the mind.[31] This creates a

[29] On the role of nature at the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis, see especially Bergmann, "Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis," 87–121.

[30] On sensory perception for establishing the connection between fictive garden and actual villa gardens, see Christophe Vendries, "À l'écoute de la nature : l'environnement sonore des jardins d'agrément dans la civilisation romaine," in *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international*, ed. Éric Morvillez (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014), 211–230.

[31] The relationship between the corporeal senses and Roman garden culture is well documented. For an overview, see Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, ed., *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 1981); idem, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*, 2 vols. (New Rochelle: A. D. Caratzas, 1979–1993); idem, "Roman Gardens in Tunisia: Preliminary Excavations in the House of Bacchus and Ariadne and in the East Temple at Thuburbo Maius," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 4 (1995): 559–576; Linda Farrar, *Gardens of Italy and the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire: From the 4th Century BC to the 4th Century AD*, BAR International Series 650 (Oxford: Tempvs Reparatvm, 1996), especially chapters 4–5; Nicholas Purcell, "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building," in *Roman Domestic Buildings*, ed. Ian M. Barton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), 121–151; Ann Kuttner, "Looking Outside Inside: Ancient Roman Garden Rooms," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscape* 19, no. 1 (1999): 7–35; Patrick Bowe, *Gardens of the Roman World* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004); Bettina Bergmann, "Staging the Supernatural: Interior Gardens of Pompeian Houses," in *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture Around the Bay of Naples. National Gallery of Art, October 19, 2008–March 22, 2009; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, May 3–October 4, 2009*, ed. Carol C. Mattusch (Washington, D.C.; London: National Gallery of Art; Thames and Hudson, 2008), 53–69, 350–353; Katharine T. von Stackelberg, *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009); Hélène Eristov, "Peintures de jardins à Pompéi : une question de point de vue," in *Paradeisos*, 81–103; Nicole Blanc, "Paradis et *hortus conclusus* : formes et sens de la clôture," in *Paradeisos*, 105–130; and Françoise Gury, "Les jardins romains étaient-ils bien entretenus? Une esthétique du négligé ou l'expression d'une vitalité victorieuse? Le dossier de la peinture romano-campanienne (30 avant-79 après J.C.)," in *Paradeisos*, 131–176.

performative space, where the fictive elements of the enclosed garden interact with the actual water within the bath: The undulating bath water activates the bather's sense of touch, sound, and of course sight, but the moment of activation is endorsed and in dialogue with the *hortus conclusus* frescoes that actually frame the real water, just as they illusionistically frame an imaginary garden receding beyond the space of the bath itself.[32]

Although Early Christian theologians generally condemned the baths and especially the sensual pleasures associated with the Roman culture of bathing,[33] they nevertheless still used them (if only reluctantly), and many baths continued to remain in regular use through the eighth and ninth centuries.[34] As a general rule, however, if theologians thought it necessary to condemn the baths, then Christians clearly were using and enjoying them.[35] At a bath-house in Il-Anderun, Syria, a certain Thomas had a dedicatory inscription carved on the lintel over the entrance, stating that "I, Thomas, again for the sake of everyone, have given this bath to all the property owners, bestowing this memory. What is the name of the bath? Health. By entering here, Christ has opened for us the bath of healing."[36] The Cappadocian Fathers Basil

---

[32] On the garden as performative space, see Bergmann, "Staging the Supernatural," in *Pompeii and the Roman Villa*, 53–69, 350–353.

[33] Cf. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 314–320.

[34] Ibid., 315.

[35] In addition to the archaeological evidence of Roman baths being converted into Christian churches and the literary accounts compiled by Yegül in *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, ch. 8, some baths have preserved Christian graffiti from Late Antiquity. See, for instance, Giovanni Becatti's discussion of the Christian graffiti that were inscribed into the mosaic floor of Room 6 in the Baths of Neptune at Ostia Antica: *Scavi di Ostia. IV, Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1961), 362–363; and vol. 2, plates CXCVI–CXCVII. Becatti dated the mosaic pavement to the second half of the third or early-fourth century, and although the graffiti could be contemporaneous, some of the emblems, including a *chi-rho* swastika and perhaps also some additional variations on the *chi-rho* theme, a cryptogram that Becatti deciphered as the name IESVS, and simple iconographical elements of grape clusters and *kantharoi* seem better suited for a fourth-century or later date.

[36] "Τὸ λουτρὸν Θωμᾶς το[ῦτ᾽] αὖ πάντων πρὸς χάρι[ν᾽ ἐγὼ] πᾶσιν δέδωκα τοῖς γεω[μόροις]᾽ δωρούμενος τὴν μνή[μην]᾽. Τί τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ λουτροῦ ‘Υγία. Διὰ ταύτης εἰσελθών, ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) ἠνέῳξεβ ἡμῖν τὸ λουτρὸν ἰάσεω[ς]." In William Kelly Prentice, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section B: Northern Syria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1922), 49, cat. no. 918.

of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus were open about their use and enjoyment of the baths at the end of the fourth century.[37] The early-fifth century church historian Sokrates of Constantinople ("Scholasticus") wrote in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* that Sissinnios I, Patriarch of Constantinople in 426–427, was an ardent supporter of the benefits of the bath-house.[38] Less than a century later, Patriarch Macedonius II (496–511) was said to have used the baths of Constantinople "excessively," along with the monks of the Akoimetai Monastery, which apparently warranted scorn.[39] The sixth-century ascetic monk Barsanuphios of Gaza justified the practice of bathing on the grounds of health care and hygiene but rejected the temptation of taking pleasure in the baths.[40] And in the West, Pope Gregory the Great declared the baths a potential temptation to sin but perfectly acceptable for the preservation of one's health.[41] Like the model of the Roman amphitheater discussed in chapter 1, which often carried negative associations for the Early Christian community but nevertheless could be used as an architectural template to frame spectacle and ritual performance in the baptistery, the Roman bath-house was also a controversial yet useful archetype for Early Christian baptismal space. The baths afforded a locus for displaying paradisiacal motifs, and their interior decoration and juxtaposition of actual and fictive aquatic elements consistently explored the relationship between paradise and sensory perception.

*Roman Nymphaea: Framing the Fountains of Paradise*

The term *paradeisos* (παράδεισος) in Greek and its cognate in Latin,

[37] Basil of Caesarea, "Epistola 137"; Gregory of Nazianzus, "Epistola 125" and "Epistola 126."
[38] Sokrates of Constantinople, *Historia eccleasiastica*, 6.22.4.
[39] Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene, *Chronicle*, 7.7. See also James Crow, "Water and Late Antique Constantinople," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 116–135, especially 125–126.
[40] Barsanuphios of Gaza, "Epistola 336."
[41] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, 13.1.

*paradisus*, originally designated an enclosed park or space intended for pleasure, leisure, and relaxation or meditation.[42] The *hortus conclusus* trope in Roman art, therefore, is a literal interpretation of the concept of paradise. The *hortus conclusus* motif, however, and indeed, illusionistic representations of gardens in general, ceased by the end of the first century CE among Roman baths, but the pictorial influence of the *paradeisos* trope was far more resilient and became part of the standard visual repertoire for other aquatic structures, most notably nymphaea, or fountains dedicated to the Nymphs, which frequently attempted to construct bucolic spaces for relaxation, contemplation, and enjoyment. Roman nymphaea were commonly adorned with the *hortus conclusus* motif, in addition to individually framed mythological scenes in mosaic, or simply blue mosaic tesserae, sea shells (particularly scallop shells), or natural stones found on nearby beaches and shorelines to accentuate the suggestion of a watery seascape that found its parallel in the actual water flowing from the fountain itself.[43]

Discovered in 1980, the mid-first century CE Villa Pipiano, located just outside of Marina della Lobra, less than 10 km south of Sorrento, Italy, contained a lavishly decorated nymphaeum, at the center of which was a mosaic scene of a *hortus conclusus* (fig. 3.23). The entire structure has since been relocated to the Museo Archeologico della Penisola Sorrentina in the nearby Villa Fondi. The central image of the nymphaeum mosaic depicts a tree with brightly colored foliage and two birds

[42] The Greek παράδεισος is first used by Xenophon in his fourth-century BCE *Anabasis*, where he employs the term to describe the pleasure gardens of Persian nobility. See, for instance, *Anabasis*, 1.2.7 and 2.4.14, but also *Kyropaedia*, 1.3.14, and *Hellenika*, 4.1.15. Xenophon's contemporary, Theophrastus, also used παράδεισος to describe a manufactured garden for controlling the growth of certain plants—see *Historia plantarum*, 4.4.1. And Plutarch, writing several centuries later, would again use παράδεισος in context of Persian pleasure gardens—see *Life of Artaxerxes*, 25. See also Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "Le paradis perse 'tout bonheur,'" in *Paradeisos*, 35–39. Even the Persian concept of the pleasure garden, however, had earlier Mesopotamian predecessors—cf. Brigitte Lion, "Les jardins des rois néo-assyriens," in *Paradeisos*, 21–34.

[43] For the best study of Roman nymphaea design, decoration, and typology, see Wolfram Letzner, *Römische Brunnen und Nymphaea in der westlichen Reichshälfte*, Charybdis 2 (Münster: Lit, 1990).

perched among its branches. Surrounding the tree is a lush garden landscape with verdant plants and a flower garland overhead, seemingly attached to the scallop-shell pilasters that appear to anchor the composition within the niche of the nymphaeum. At the very base of the composition is a representation of a latticework enclosure, which reinforces (quite literally) the *hortus conclusus* trope.

Within the Suburban Baths at Pompeii, a nymphaeum was built inside Room 9 (fig. 3.24) that features within the central, intentionally rusticated grotto-niche a mosaic of Mars surrounded by three cherubs. The figural composition, however, is offset on the sides of the niche by two long, rectangular panels representing dense foliage in mosaic that reaches up to the entablature of the structure. Natural foliage almost certainly would have grown out of the crevices at the base of the fountain, as it is wont to do even today in its ruined state, and this juxtaposition of actual plant life and floral elements shown fictively would have blurred the lines playfully between the confines of a sealed, manufactured urban space, far removed from the bucolic gardens of the imagined *villa rustica*, and the incursion of nature itself within that space, challenging the permeability of the space and reminding the viewer of human limitations to tame and control nature.

The western wall of the nymphaeum within the House of the Centenary (fig. 3.25), also at Pompeii, contains a *hortus conclusus* fresco with a stand-alone garden fountain with sculpted sphinx base, peacocks, and an assortment of multi-colored foliage. Even the register band below the nymphaeum's prominent marine frescoes is painted fictively as a perforated balustrade enclosing a receding garden landscape, as if the terrestrial world frames the marine motifs above it. Though very fragmentary, the frescoes along the walls of the elaborately constructed nymphaeum in the House of Neptune and Amphitrite at Herculaneum (figs. 3.26–3.27) present a *hortus*

*conclusus* composition similar to that of the *balnea* in Villa A at Oplontis. A deep orange-red sky frames a garden landscape filled with plants and birds so detailed that their species can be determined. A stone balustrade fills the foreground, and left of the mosaic of Neptune and Amphitrite appears a spiral-columned bird-bath fountain. The decorative motifs framing the niche of the nymphaeum itself are equally paradisiacal, with hunting dogs chasing deer through a wooded landscape, floral garlands with peacocks perched atop them, and even the sides of the lower-register niches show flowering vine tendrils criss-crossing upward from *kantharos* planters at the base. The pleasures of the garden and aquatic space were intimately connected in Roman ideology, and nearly every nymphaeum throughout the imperial period contained additional marine elements of Tritons, personifications of Oceanus, Neptune and Amphitrite, fish and mythological sea life such as hippocamps, or cherubs riding dolphins as a visual strategy for displaying the aquatic world as a vibrant domain where the natural and supernatural interacted in harmony, and a space where occupants of the nymphaeum could also imagine themselves amidst the gods or even presiding over the natural world with the godlike power of one capable of circumscribing it.

Although very few baths and nymphaea from Late Antiquity have preserved their wall decoration, and only a relatively small number have even managed to retain their pavement mosaics and/or marble revetment, one particular nymphaeum in Rome offers valuable insight into the ongoing appeal of garden imagery in aquatic contexts, as well as how the *hortus conclusus* motif became emblematized and fragmented in the later Roman Empire. The underground nymphaeum at Via Livenza (figs. 3.28–3.30) is located outside the northern city walls of Rome, between the current Galleria Borghese and Villa Albani and therefore well positioned as part of a wealthy

landowner's *villa rustica* in the second half of the fourth century CE.[44] The underground space is generally referred to as a hypogeum, but unlike most hypogea, the Via Livenza space was not designed as a burial chamber. It was created as a fountain grotto that was connected to a *piscina* for raising fish. Against the back wall of the nymphaeum appears a niche covered in frescoed squares of imitation marble (most likely *giallo antico*) and within the apse above, a fresco of a garden landscape with an elaborate *kantharos* fountain. Two birds are perched on the rim of the fountain, one drinking from its overflowing water while the other looks over its shoulder. Two other birds, arranged symmetrically on the sides of the fountain, occupy the floral landscape. Flanking the wall niche are two painted scenes of the goddess Diana. The larger of the two, on the left side of the niche, shows the goddess reaching into her quiver for an arrow as two deer run in opposite directions from her. On the right side of the niche, Diana is shown with her bow in hand again, but this time reaching down to her hunting dog, who licks her right hand.

These bucolic and mythological scenes are not uncommon to the repertoire of Roman iconography for nymphaea, but what is depicted on the left wall adjacent to the nymphaeum, however, is completely unique and seems to bear witness to the critical moment of transition in Early Christian iconography. The lower half of the wall includes a fresco of a maritime scene with Erotes fishing, a particularly common

[44] When the nymphaeum was discovered in 1923, it was misinterpreted by Joseph Wilpert as an Early Christian baptistery. See Wilpert, "Un battistero 'Ad Nymphas B. Petri," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2 (1923): 57–82. See also Roberto Paribeni, "Un edificio sotterraneo di tarda età imperiale presso la Via Salaria," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2 (1923): 45–52; Eduardo Gatti, "Via Salaria. Nuove scoperte nel sepolcreto," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 10–12 (1923): 364–379; Paribeni, "Via Salaria – Scoperta di un edificio sotterraneo con pitture e mosaici," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 10–12 (1923): 380–396; Luisanna Usai, "L'ipogeo di Via Livenza in Roma," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 6 (1972): 363–412; Guglielmo Matthiae and Maria Andaloro, *Pittura romana del Medioevo, secoli IV–X*, vol. 1 (Rome: Palombi, 1987), 223; Jérôme Croisier, "L'Hypogée de via Livenza à Rome. Nouvelles questions," Mémoire de Licence (Université de Lausanne, 2003); idem, "Pitture e mosaici dell'ipogeo di via Livenza," in *La pittura medievale a Roma, 312–1431: Corpus*, vol. 1, eds. Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), 253–258; and Beat Brenk, *The Apse, the Image and the Icon: An Historical Perspective of the Apse as a Space for Images*, Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 26 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010), 16–17.

iconographical motif for a nymphaeum. The upper half of the wall, on the other hand, preserves the badly damaged remains of a mosaic that once depicted the story of St. Peter striking the rock (fig. 3.30), which, up until the middle of the fourth century, had been more commonly depicted in Christian catacomb frescoes and on sarcophagi.

Including the scene alongside pagan motifs and within a nymphaeum is unique and suggests that Christian narratives involving water miracles or themes of salvation through water were being adopted by elite patrons for their own private spaces, blending syncretistically Christian and pagan elements into a visual program that may have had a much wider appeal in the fourth century than previously thought.[45] The combination of traditional pagan imagery with the iconography of the burgeoning Christian community in the fourth century has led many scholars, most recently Beat Brenk, to conclude that the owner of the Via Livenza nymphaeum was indeed a Christian, but the inclusion of Christian themes in an otherwise secular nymphaeum was merely an element of "popular theology," whereby the salvific elements of Christianity could be grafted onto the existing iconography of Greco-Roman cult spaces.[46] This made the transition from Roman bucolic garden to Early Christian paradise fluid, and it should not be overlooked that representations of paradise in Early Christian art—particularly those of the third and fourth centuries—very likely retained their secular and/or pagan associations in addition to their

[45] The slow transition from Greco-Roman paganism to Christianity in the fourth century is well known. However, the primary literary sources that have survived were typically written by professional clerics, monks, and other ecclesiastical authorities, whose rhetoric on the triumph of Christianity did not necessarily reflect the actual state of religious conversion. Archaeological evidence from both urban and rural settlements in the fourth and even into the fifth century suggests an entirely different narrative, whereby Christianity and paganism coexisted in many households without significant conflict, with the new cult of the Christian God simply being grafted into a preexisting pantheon of Greco-Roman deities. On the blurred lines between what constituted "Christian" and "pagan" in Late Antiquity, see especially Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire, AD 100–450* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[46] Brenk, *The Apse, the Image and the Icon*, 16–17.

newfound Christian context, whether designed and executed as such by Christian clerics, wealthy private patrons, and workshops, or interpreted as a conscious blend of religious symbolism by the laity viewing the art.

The rivers of paradise inscription carved into the fourth-century architrave of the nymphaeum at the so-called Christian Basilica at Ostia Antica (figs. 3.31–3.33) is the only other explicit biblical/Christian reference in a nymphaeum context. The inscription reads, "IN XP GEON FISON TIGRIS EVFRATA [emblem of a palm branch] | TI CRI[ST]IANORVM SVMITE FONTES [emblem of a leaf]."[47] Both archaeologists and art and architectural historians have debated the translation and interpretation of the inscription for the better part of a century, as well as the function of the building containing the inscription.[48] Regardless, the identification of the

[47] Guido Calza interpreted the inscription as the product of an illiterate carver, who made a mistake on the second line of the architrave, carving "TI" a second time as he prepared to write "TIGRIS" again, which appears on the first, upper line. Moreover, he interpreted the nymphaeum beyond the architrave as an Early Christian baptistery, part of the basilica of Sts. Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist that Emperor Constantine donated to the city, as recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*, 34.28. Most scholars, however, have rejected Calza's conclusions, seeking alternative reconstructions and translations of the text and viewing the building instead as a Roman domus. On the inscription, see Calza, "Una basilica di età costantiniana scoperta ad Ostia," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 16 (1940): 63–88; idem, "Ancora sulla basilica cristiana di Ostia," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 18 (1942): 135–148; idem, "Le memorie del Cristianesimo a Ostia," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 21 (1946): 3; and idem, "Nuove testimonianze del Cristianesimo a Ostia," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 25–26 (1951): 123–138. For alternative translations/interpretations of the inscription, see Armin von Gerkan, "Die christliche Anlage in Ostia," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1939): 15–23; Theodor Klauser, "Die Inschrift der neugefundenen altchristlichen Bauanlage in Ostia," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1939): 25–30; Mario Burzachechi, "L'iscrizione cristiana della 'Basilica' di Ostia," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 30–31 (1957–1959): 177–187; Paul-Albert Février, "Ostie et Porto à la fin de l'Antiquité : topographie religieuse et vie sociale," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 70 (1958): 295–330; Burzachechi, "Nuove osservazioni sull'epigrafe cristiana della basilica di Ostia," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 59 (1964): 103–106; Henri-Irénée Marrou, "L'inscription des quatre fleuves du Paradis dans la basilique d'Ostie," in *Christiana tempora. Mélanges d'histoire, d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et de patristique*, Publications de l'École française de Rome 35 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), 111–114; Beat Brenk and Patrizio Pensabene, "Christliche Basilika oder christliche 'Domus der Tigriniani'?" *Boreas* 21–22 (1998–1999): 271–299; and Brenk, "La christianisation d'Ostie," in *Ostia : port et porte de la Rome antique*, ed. Jean-Paul Descœudres (Geneva; Paris: Musées d'art et d'histoire; Georg Editeur, 2001), 262–271.

[48] See note 47, as well as Theodora Leonore Heres, "Alcuni appunti sulla 'Basilica Cristiana' (III, I, 4) di Ostia Antica," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 42 (1980): 87–99; Annalisa Gobbi, "La cosidetta Basilica Cristiana," *Bolletino di archeologia* 49–50 (1998): 131–133; idem, "Nuove osservazioni sulle fasi costruttive della cosidetta basilica cristiana di Ostia Antica," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 74 (1998): 455–480; Franz Alto Bauer, "Stadtbild und Heiligenlegende. Die

building as a Christian basilica has long been discounted, most definitively by Franz Alto Bauer and Michael Heinzelmann following the discovery of the Constantinian basilica at Ostia in 1998.[49]

Unfortunately, the archaeological site's signage has remained unchanged from Guido Calza's conclusions after his 1939 excavation of the structure. Following Mario Burzachechi's argument that the inscription may point to ownership by the Tingriniani family (the source of the "TI" on the second line), who were known in Late Antiquity, most scholars now agree that the building was always a Roman house and never intended as a basilica.[50] More recently, Beat Brenk and Patrizio Pensabene have adopted the same position on the Tingriniani connection.[51] However, whereas Burzachechi maintained the belief that the house belonged to a Christian family (possibly consisting of a heretical sect who used the house's nymphaeum for baptisms), Brenk has challenged the association with Christianity at all, arguing that the reference to the biblical rivers of paradise was not necessarily a sign of Christian occupation any more than a nymphaeum dedicated to Oceanus or Neptune was an indicator of a devout Roman cult. Brenk's argument, however, is problematic. The

---

Christianisierung Ostias in der spätantiken Gedankenwelt," in *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung. Symposion vom 14. bis 16. Februar 2000 in Halle/Saale*, Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 11, eds. Gunnar Brands and Hans-Georg Severin (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), 43–62; and Douglas Ryan Boin, "Late Antique Ostia and a Campaign for Pious Tourism: Epitaphs for Bishop Cyriacus and Monica, Mother of Augustine," *Journal of Roman Studies* 100 (2010): 195–209.

[49] Franz Alto Bauer et al., "Untersuchungen im Bereich der konstantinischen Bischofskirche Ostias. Vorbericht zur ersten Grabungskampagne 1998," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 106 (1999): 289–341; Bauer and Michael Heinzelmann, "Die frühchristliche Basilika in der Regio V: erste Grabungsergebnisse," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 58 (1999): 25; idem, "The Constantinian Bishop's Church at Ostia: Preliminary Report on the 1998 Season," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999): 342–354; and idem, "L'église episcopale d'Ostie," in *Ostia : port et porte de la Rome antique*, ed. Jean-Paul Descœudres (Geneva; Paris: Musées d'art et d'histoire; Georg Editeur, 2001), 278–282. See also H. Becker, "Prospecting in Ostia Antica (Italy) and the Discovery of the Basilica of Constantinus I. in 1996," in *Archaeological Prospection: Third International Conference on Archaeological Prospection, Munich 9.–11. September 1999*, eds. Jörg W. E. Faßbinder (Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1999), 139–143.

[50] Burzachechi, "L'iscrizione cristiana della 'Basilica' di Ostia," 177–187; and idem, "Nuove osservazioni sull'epigrafe cristiana della basilica di Ostia," 103–106.

[51] Brenk and Pensabene, "Christliche Basilika oder christliche 'Domus der Tigriniani'?" 271–299; and Brenk, "La christianisation d'Ostie," 262–271.

architrave inscription includes a prominent *chi-rho* monogram that is wholly consistent in epigraphical style and therefore likely contemporaneous with the lettering; and there are no other indications of religious cult in the building. Many Romans were certainly syncretistic in the fourth century, grafting Christianity into the existing pantheon of Greco-Roman deities, and as such, a Christian symbol would not necessarily indicate exclusivity in the religious beliefs of a household. As Christianity grew in popularity, it is also possible that Romans appropriated Christian symbolism for more neutral, popular effect without actually espousing particular ideologies. However, the religious landscape of Ostia changed rapidly in the fourth century, beginning with Constantine's patronage of an episcopal basilica in the 330s, located at the southern end of the current archaeological site in Regio V along Via del Sabazeo.[52] By the second-half of the fourth century, Christians destroyed the cult statue of Mithras below the Baths of Mithras, building either a chapel or small church over the Mithraeum cult site.[53] This act of iconoclasm suggests that the balance of religious power in Ostia had already shifted in favor of Christianity within just a few decades. And by the end of the fourth century and beginning of the fifth, a second major basilica was built in the city, the so-called Basilica of Pianabella near Porta Laurentina[54]; a Christian oratory (possibly dedicated to the martyred Bishop

[52] See footnote 49.
[53] Cf. Raissa Calza, "Le sculture e la probabile zona cristiana di Ostia e di Porto," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 37 (1964–1965): 155–257.
[54] Cf. Roberto Giordani, "Scavi nella basilica cristiana di Pianabella (Ostia Antica)," *Archeologia laziale* 2 (1979): 240–242; idem, "Scavi nella tenuta di Pianabella di Ostia Antica. La basilica cristiana," *Memorie. Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia* 14 (1982): 77–87; Giuliana Santagata, "La 'mensa' della basilica paleocristiana di Pianabella: ipotesi su alcuni aspetti del problema dell'origine e della funzione delle tavole con bordo decorato," *Esercizi* 4 (1982): 5–22; Stefano Coccia and Lidia Paroli, "La basilica di Pianabella di Ostia Antica nelle sue relazioni con il paesaggio fra tardo antico ed Alto Medioevo," *Archeologia laziale* 9 (1990): 177–181; idem, "Ostia Antica. Località Pianabella: la basilica cristiana," *Bollettino di archeologia* 2 (1990): 214–217; Donatella Nuzzo, "Impiego e reimpiego di materiale epigrafico nella basilica cristiana di Pianabella (Ostia)," *Vetera christianorum* 33, no. 1 (1996): 85–114; Paroli et al., *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 12, *La Basilica cristiana di Pianabella 1* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1999); Paroli, "La basilica paleocristiana di Porto: scavi 1997–1998," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 58 (1999): 45–47; and Milton Luiz Torres, "Christian Burial Practices at Ostia Antica:

Cyriacus/Quiriacus) was built in a highly visible location next to the city's theater on the Decumanus[55]; the basilica of Sant'Ercolano was constructed east of the city proper, near the modern metro station;[56] a small church was constructed near the Villa of Palombara, close to the sea[57]; an assortment of Early Christian graffiti and iconography within baths and domestic spaces are attested from this period[58]; and a pilgrimage cult for St. Aurea had already been established in the second-half of the fourth century. Monica, St. Augustine's mother, who died in Ostia in 387 CE, was buried near the tomb of the martyr, and a basilica dedicated to St. Aurea was erected on the site in the early-fifth century.[59]

Certainly, Ostia was not converted to a Christian city overnight, but there is an overwhelming amount of physical evidence to suggest that the rivers of paradise inscription from the "Basilica Cristiana" at Ostia Antica is indeed indicative of a Christian space at a time when the Christian cult had begun to flourish. Theodora Heres' suggestion that the *domus* was intended as a *xenodochium*, or house for religious pilgrims, is perhaps the best explanation for the interior divisions of the

---

Backgrounds and Contexts with a Case Study of the Pianabella Basilica," Ph.D. diss. (University of Texas at Austin, 2008).

[55] Cf. Dante Vaglieri, "Scoperte di antichità cristiane in Ostia," *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 16 (1910): 57–62; and Bauer, "Stadtbild und Heiligenlegende," 43–62.

[56] Cf. Philippe Pergola, "Lo scavo di S. Ercolano ad Ostia Antica. Relazione preliminare delle campagne 1988 e 1989," *Archeologia laziale* 10 (1990): 173–176.

[57] Cf. Carlo Pavolini, *Ostia*, Guide archeologiche Laterza 8 (Rome, Bari: GLF Editori Laterza, 2006), 253–258.

[58] See, for instance, the Christian graffiti in the Baths of Neptune, in Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia. IV*, vol. 1, 362–363; and vol. 2, plates CXCVI–CXCVII.

[59] Silvana Episcopo, "Saggi di scavo presso S. Aurea ad Ostia," *Archeologia laziale* 3 (1980): 228–233; Pasquale Testini, "Saggi di scavo presso S. Aurea (Ostia)," in *Scavi e ricerche archeologiche degli anni 1976–1979*, vol. 2, Quaderni de la ricerca scientifica 112 (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1985), 323–326; Christoph L. Frommel, "Kirche und Tempel: Giuliano della Roveres Kathedrale Sant'Aurea in Ostia," in *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 47 (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1989), 491–505; Giorgio Torselli, *Sant'Aurea e il borgo medievale di Ostia Antica* (Rome: Edizioni E.C.G., 1994); Daria Mastrorilli, "Considerazioni sul cimitero paleocristiano di S. Aurea ad Ostia," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 83 (2007): 317–376; and idem, "Osservazioni sulla basilica paleocristiana di S. Aurea ad Ostia," in *Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma. Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana (Roma, 13 marzo 2008)*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 24, eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Hugo Brandenburg (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2012), 213–235.

space.[60] In this context, the rivers of paradise inscription over the entrance to the nymphaeum obviously signaled to the guests that the owners were among the city's early converts to Christianity, but more importantly it evoked the pleasures of paradise within the waters of the nymphaeum. This was just as much an appeal to the senses of viewers aware of the Edenic reference as it was a proselytic endorsement of the benefits of the new Christian religion that was growing in the city.

Explicit representations of a garden-paradise or attempts to construct a broader sense of a paradisiacal space are designed to blend real and fictive elements within nymphaea to heighten sensory perception of those entering the space. With the human senses activated, the pleasures of a fabricated bucolic space seem more natural, and the imagined material properties of paradise are made more palpable, immanent, and suffusive within the space. Being aware of the deception and a willing participant in its fiction, however, is part of the sensory game. To experience the pleasures of a paradisiacal space, one must first offer up the senses to be manipulated by the space itself and its juxtaposition of the real and the illusion, the world of surface and materiality and the world of ideas and imagination. It was out of this context of visual play and a recognition of the malleability of the senses that Early Christian baptismal space took its cue in constructing visions of paradise.

### *Paradise as Symbol: Re-Creating the Edenic Landscape in the Earliest Christian Baptisteries*

Romans exploited the pleasures of the baths and nymphaea as sites where the most bucolic and idyllic aspects of the natural world could be harnessed as a fiction within a manufactured space, but this was no ordinary fiction. In the early-imperial period, illusionistic or naturalistic representations of the *hortus conclusus* within bath

[60] Heres, "Alcuni appunti sulla 'Basilica Cristiana' (III, I, 4) di Ostia Antica," 87–99.

or fountain spaces were designed to blend almost seamlessly with the sounds and visions of real water, as well as the tactile engagement with watery surfaces, marble revetment, or mosaic pavements, whose variations in texture and form endorsed the illusion of inhabiting a multisensory, outdoor space. Human occupants of these spaces were nourished by the pleasures of purpose-built aquatic environments in much the same way that birds and small animals were shown nourished by garden fountains or abundant flora in the *hortus conclusus* painted on walls, rendered in mosaic about their feet, or in the water basins themselves. By the second century CE, however, illusionism in garden representations was replaced by more abstract and emblematic signifiers of the garden paradise. Lush garden landscapes could be reduced to a few representive flowers or trees. Identifiable bird species shown pecking at fruit or seeds on the ground morphed into generic, indistinct birds that occasionally occupied a roughly sketched grassy landscape, but more often were contained within geometrical shapes as ornament for a larger expanse of mosaic pavement. And deer in wooded glens, such as the Via Livenza fresco of Diana and the hunt, or sheep roaming a bucolic hillside with a shepherd could be reduced to a single animal or pair of confronted animals in a highly schematic arrangement that were recognizable excerpts from the Roman visual vocabulary for the bucolic landscape or garden paradise. By the fourth century, when Emperor Constantine installed his seven silver stags in the Lateran baptistery, the bucolic association between water and wildlife had become so ingrained in the Roman visual repertoire that no other pictorial elements were needed to adequately convey the idea of paradise.

The motif of confronted animals flanking a *kantharos*, *krater*, or simply a bowl serving as a fountain, as seen in the Via Livenza nymphaeum or, a century later, in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (fig. 3.34), functioned as a proxy for

the far more elaborate compositions of the garden landscape. By the late-fifth and early-sixth century, Early Christian designers seeking to establish paradisiacal spaces within baptisteries and churches often reduced the concept of paradise into even more abstract elements. At the fifth-century baptistery of Sidi Jdidi (Aradi) in Tunisia, the otherwise unadorned baptismal font features a single lamb, who represents Christ as *agnus dei*, extending its leg out to offer a crown (figs. 3.35), presumably to each catechumen exiting the font after being immersed or affused and thereby signaling acceptance into not only the immediate Christian community of the local church, but also into the heavenly Church consisting of martyrs, saints, and other holy forebears in the faith. This is the same type of martyrial crown, or crown of paradise, held by the apostles in both the Orthodox and Arian baptisteries at Ravenna (figs. 1.3, 1.22), and it appears widely in apse and nave mosaics in Early Christian churches dedicated to specific martyrs, such as Santi Cosma e Damiano in Rome (fig. 3.36) or the procession of saints at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (fig. 3.37), who are shown receiving or holding heavenly crowns. At Sidi Jdidi, however, the paradisiacal emblem of the lamb is eschatological rather than terrestrial, offering catechumens a visual foretaste of the glory promised to them after death. The very gesture and position of the *agnus dei* on the rim of the Sidi Jdidi font transform the theriomorphic figure of Christ into an active participant in the liturgy. Catechumens are encouraged to imagine themselves receiving their crowns from the hand of Christ himself.

If Early Christian baptismal liturgies were designed to help catechumens transition from carnal to spiritual vision as a way to experience paradise anew, then more expansive and mimetic decorations for baptistery interiors made this transition palpable. One of the clearest examples of a large-scale attempt to reconstruct the landscape of Eden appears in the late-fifth or early-sixth century baptistery at Stobi

(Paeonia), Macedonia (fig. 3.38), where the mosaic pavement offers one of the clearest compositions of paradisiacal motifs, including deer, peacocks, and other birds receiving nourishment from overflowing *kantharos* fountains.[61] Clearly, catechumens were meant to "dwell" within the paradise of the baptistery, and it was not uncommon in Early Christian baptismal liturgies and catechetical lectures to include vivid descriptions of an Edenic landscape that initiates were beckoned to enter.[62] This encouraged the initiates to transcend their carnal senses and imagine the cold, hard tesserae of mosaic pavements as a renewed, Edenic landscape made available through the Church.[63] However, it also positioned the catechumens as the divinely sanctioned conservators of creation. As Henry Maguire has pointed out for other Early Christian depictions of Adam in paradise, such as the late-fourth or early-fifth century Carrand Diptych (fig. 3.39) or the mosaic pavement in the nave of the fifth-century "North Church" in Huarte, Syria (fig. 3.40), the earthly paradise of Eden was envisioned both pictorially and in Early Christian literature as a space where all of creation—even predators and their prey—lived in harmony, and Adam was made sovereign of the land, tasked not only with naming the animals surrounding him but also looking after their well-being.[64] At Stobi, catechumens processing around the central baptismal font

---

[61] On the Stobi baptistery mosaics and their paradisiacal theme, see James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi, "Excavations at Stobi, 1971," *American Journal of Archaeology* 76, no. 4 (1972): 422–424; Ruth Ellen Kolarik, "The Floor Mosaics of Stobi and Their Balkan Context," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1981), 102–118; and idem, "The Episcopal Basilica at Stobi: The Baptistery and Related Structures," in *Acta XV Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae, Toleti (8–12. 9. 2009): Episcopus, civitas, territorium*, vol. 1, ed. Olof Brandt (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2013), 939–952.

[62] See, for instance, Gregory of Nyssa's description of paradise regained in *In diem luminum (vulgo in baptismum Christi oratio)*. Similar descriptions appear in idem, *Adversus eos qui baptismum differunt*; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*, 1, 15; idem, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, 2.7; and the eleventh-century manuscript of the *Liber ordinum episcopal*, 4.47.20–33, the text of which is now generally accepted to have been based on late-antique liturgies.

[63] Although her subject is related primarily to domestic and bath spaces in Roman North Africa, Rebecca Molholt's unpublished dissertation, "On Stepping Stones: The Historical Experience of Roman Mosaics," offers numerous relevant parallels to sensory manipulation in late-antique mosaic pavement design.

[64] On the Carrand Diptych, see especially Ellen Konowitz, "The Program of the Carrand Diptych," *Art Bulletin* 66, no. 3 (1984): 484–488; and Henry Maguire, "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the

walked through a paradise consisting of deer, peacocks, gurgling *kantharos* fountains, and a fertile landscape reduced to visual synecdoches of acanthus leaves, fruit-bearing tree branches, and what appear to be olive trees. If the space around the font was intended to represent or prompt a mystical vision of a prelapsarian Eden, then surely the waters of the baptismal font were envisioned as the rivers of paradise, marking the center of the ritual drama of the Edenic return as the very center of the Garden itself.

Similar mosaic pavements or isolated motifs of *kantharos* fountains with confronted deer or peacocks were present in the Croatian baptisteries of Salona (figs. 3.3–3.4)[65] and Zadar (Iadera, figs. 3.41–3.42)[66]; the now-lost baptisteries of Oued Ramel and Henchir Messaouda in Tunisia (figs. 3.43–3.44)[67]; the baptisteries of La

---

Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 363–373. On the mosaics of the "North Church" at Huarte, see Pierre Canivet, "A Church with Mosaics at Huarte in Apamena, Syria," *Archaeology* 25 (1972): 62–67; Maria-Teresa Canivet and Pierre Canivet, "La mosaïque d'Adam dans l'église syrienne de Hūarte," *Cahiers archéologiques* 24 (1975): 49–70; idem, "La Licorne dans les mosaïques de Hūarte d'Apamène (Syrie, IVe–Ve siècles)," *Byzantion* 49 (1979): 57–87; Pierre Canivet, "Peintures murales et mosaïques d'abside en verre à Huarte (IVe–Ve s.)," in *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, Université libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres 83, eds. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich and Georges Raepsaet (Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1982), 313–334; idem, "Le Bestiaire adamique dans les mosaïques de Hūarte (Syrie, fin Ve s.) : le symbolisme du Griffon," in *L'animal, l'homme, le dieu dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1981*, Les Cahiers de CEPOA 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1984), 145–154; Canivet and Canivet, *Huarte. Sanctuaire chrétien d'Apamène (IVe–VIe s.)*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 122 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1987); Pauline Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie*, Publications d'histoire de l'art et de'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain 69 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, Collège Érasme, 1988), 102–116; and Rotraut Wisskirchen, "Der bekleidete Adam thront inmitten der Tiere. Zum Bodenmosaik des Mittelschiffs der Nordkirche von Huarte/Syrien," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 45 (2002): 137–152.

[65] The baptistery mosaic of the episcopal basilica at Salona was discovered in 1848 but went missing sometime between 1855 and 1873. Frane Bulić suggested the possibility that it was removed to Linz to adorn the interior of a private residence. On Bulić's report and an up-to-date bibliography on the mosaic, see Gauthier, "Mosaïque aux deux cerfs," in *Salona IV*, 241.

[66] Unfortunately, the basilica at Zadar was bombed by Allied forces in 1943–1944, which caused the total destruction of the Early Christian baptistery and its mosaics. Cf. Nikola Jakšić, "La première cathédrale de Zadar," *Antiquité tardive* 16 (2008): 187–194.

[67] Cf. Paul Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, *Afrique Proconsulaire (Tunisie)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), 155, cat. no. 457; idem, *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie (1892–1904)* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, 1913), plate XVIII; Henri-Charles Puech, "Le cerf et le serpent : note sur le symbolisme de la mosaïque découverte au baptistère de l'Henchir Messaouda," *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 17–60; Henri Stern, "Le décor des pavements et des cuves dans les baptistères paléochrétiens," in *Actes du Ve Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence 13–19 septembre 1954*, ed. J. Zeiller (Vatican City; Paris: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Société d'édition "Les belles-lettres," 1957), 381–390; J. G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 34–35; and Lois

Skhira and Henchir Sokrine, also in Tunisia but whose mosaics have been preserved in the Musée archéologique de Sfax and Musée archéologique de Lamta (figs. 3.45–3.48)[68]; and the motif can still be found *in situ* at the polyconch baptistery at Ohrid (ancient Lychnidos), Macedonia (figs. 3.49–3.50)[69]; the Butrint baptistery (fig. 1.19)[70]; and the baptistery of Bishop Sergios in the so-called Baptistery Chapel at Ras-Siagha on Mount Nebo in Jordan (fig. 3.51)[71]. Although large sections of the pavement are now missing, it is likely that the baptistery of the so-called Small Basilica at Plovdiv (ancient Philipopolis) in Bulgaria (fig. 3.52) also had confronted deer being nourished from either a *kantharos* fountain or the rivers of paradise. Clearly, the motif was widespread in Early Christian baptisteries of the Mediterranean and Levant, and although it originally surfaced in Roman art within the context of the *hortus conclusus* trope, the rapid adoption and dissemination of this emblem of paradise among fourth- and fifth-century churches was likely spurred by Constantine's commission for the Lateran baptistery, which established a specific baptismal trend throughout the Roman Empire.

The motif, of course, was not limited to baptisteries. At least two domestic

---

Drewer, "Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters," *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 542–543.

[68] On La Skhira, see especially Mohamed Fendri, *Basiliques chrétiennes de La Skhira*, Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des lettres, serie 1: Archéologie, histoire 8 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1961). On Henchir Sokrine, see Fathi Bejaoui, "Découvertes d'archéologie chrétienne en Tunisie," in *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne: Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, vol. 2, Collection de l'École française de Rome 123 (Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1989), 1927–1960; and idem, "À propos des mosaïques funéraires d'Henchir Sokrine (environ de *Lepti minus*, en Byzacène)," in *L'Africa romana. Atti del IX convegno di studio Nuoro, 13–15 dicembre 1991*, ed. Attilio Mastino (Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi/Dipartimento di Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Sassari, 1992), 329–336.

[69] On the Polyconch Baptistery and Basilica at Ohrid, see especially Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova, *Monuments paleochrétiens de la region d'Ohrid* [Старохристијански споменици во Охридско] (Ohrid: Завод за Заштита на Спомениците на Културата и Народен Музеј Охрид, 1975), 22–67.

[70] See footnote 11.

[71] Cf. Sylvester Saller, "L'église du Mont Nébo," *Revue biblique* 43 (1934): 120–127; Michele Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, American Center of Oriental Research Publications 1, eds. Patricia M. Bikai and Thomas A. Dailey (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993), 133–151; and idem, "The Mosaics of Jordan," in *Interactions: Artistic Interchange Between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton; University Park: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, in association with Penn State University Press, 2007), 36ff.

spaces in Late Antiquity employed the image, one in Carthage as a threshold mosaic (fig. 3.53) and the other in at the so-called Palace of Polycharmos at Stobi (fig. 3.54), where the emblem occupies a large mosaic pavement for a triclinium. In both cases, however, which date to the fifth century, the appropriation almost certainly came from Christian use in churches and baptisteries in the same cities, especially at Stobi, where the style of the palace mosaic and episcopal baptistery mosaic is so similar that it seems likely that the same mosaic workshop was responsible for both.

There are also dozens of examples of the paradisiacal motif in Early Christian apses, choirs and presbyteria, naves, and chapels in Late Antiquity, which reinforced the idea that the Church was the seat of paradise regained, but it was through the initial exposure to this motif in the Early Christian baptistery that initiates were made aware of the metaphysical possibilities of transcending the material confines of ritual space, and it was the baptismal font that functioned as the gateway to paradise. In some instances, such La Skhira (figs. 3.45–3.46, 3.55), both the baptistery and the mosaic pavement surrounding the high altar of the basilica contained images of deer and *kantharoi*, which maintained the theme of paradise along a processional route as catechumens exited the baptistery and moved into the church for their first Eucharist.

Not all baptisteries employed such basic symbols to indicate paradise within ritual space. At San Giovanni in fonte in Naples (fig. 3.56), the spandrels immediately below the cupola, which frame the four evangelist symbols in each of the baptistery's four niches, contain images of confronted sheep with either the Good Shepherd (centered over the Evangelist Luke) or a more generic shepherd (over the Evangelist Mark) in the center of the composition or confronted stags with a centralized shepherd (over Evangelists Matthew and John). Just as confronted deer juxtaposed with fountains or the rivers of paradise were associated with Ps. 42, sheep in a similar

position were often references to Ps. 23. Two palm trees and a simple grassy landscape populated by a few birds bracket the compositions for all four mosaic panels, rendering the paradise motif as a repeating formula within the baptistery, but one that literally frames the baptismal font below by circumscribing it on four sides. The cupola mosaics themselves present an assortment of biblical narratives of the life of Christ, many of which bear salvific typologies or, like the *Traditio Legis* scene (fig. 3.57), reinforce the authority of the Church administering the baptismal rite and make Christ the divine witness to the ceremony below. The cosmic, starry sky at the center of the dome (figs. 1.23, 1.32), filled with a large *chi-rho* monogram, includes the hand of God reaching down to offer heavenly crowns to the catechumens undergoing baptism, while the bands surrounding the cosmic roundel show the bounty of an earthly paradise, as birds peck at fruit and even a phoenix, a symbol of resurrection, looks on, reminding the initiates of the promise of a renewed life at the *Parousia*, or second coming of Christ.

The now-lost Oued Ramel baptistery in Tunisia (fig. 3.43) also presented a complex program for recreating paradise within ritual space. Paul Gauckler published the archaeological sketches from the 1897–1898 campaign after the baptistery and basilical complex were first discovered.[72] The drawing shows a two-chamber baptismal hall, with the main chamber, containing the baptismal font, decorated as a lush paradisiacal landscape. The cruciform font contains the image of a dove in the bottom roundel, an allusion to the Holy Spirit descending upon Christ at his own baptism in the Jordan River, and the north-south axis of the font is flanked by four palm trees. The east-west axis, on the other hand, contains two distinct paradisiacal emblems. The first, on the eastern end, shows two peacocks flanking a *kantharos*

[72] Gauckler, *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie*, plate XVIII. See also Stern, "Le décor des pavements et des cuves dans les baptistères paléochrétiens," 381–390.

fountain alongside sparsely distributed flowers, a composition that adheres to the same iconographical formula seen throughout fifth- and sixth-century Mediterranean baptisteries. What is unique, however, and which Henri Stern first noticed, is that the drawing shows at the western end two confronted stags drinking from the four rivers of paradise, but the rivers do not flow from what is generally known as the "mountain of paradise" in the more standard iconography of the scene. Instead, they flow from a scallop shell attached to the baptismal font, making the actual waters of baptism appear as the ultimate source for the rivers of paradise, which in turn nourish all of creation.[73] The baptismal waters become the conduit through which all of creation is saved, a theological construct, in this instance, that Lois Drewer saw as potentially stemming from the orbit of Carthage and Cyprian's ecclesiology of baptism, which asserted that salvation could only come from within the Church through baptism, which Cyprian equated with the outpouring of the four rivers of paradise and the reattainment of Eden.[74]

*Cosmology and Creation*

The Oued Ramel baptistery does not merely present the iconography of paradise, but rather its unification of the rivers of paradise and the baptismal font creates a certain cosmology for understanding the relationship between the waters of baptism and the Genesis account of creation. A similar visual strategy can be found in the sixth-century cathedral complex (fig. 3.58) at Bulla Regia (Hammam Djarradji), near modern Jendouba, Tunisia, which offers an interesting case study for the development of this type of cosmological setting for paradise toward the end of Late Antiquity. The complex consists of two distinct basilicas, side by side, that were once

[73] Stern, "Le décor des pavements et des cuves dans les baptistères paléochrétiens," 381–384.
[74] Cf. Cyprian of Carthage, *Epistola* 73.10; and Drewer, "Fisherman and Fish Pond," 542.

joined by a passageway connecting the northern aisle of Basilica I (the larger of the two basilicas) to the southern aisle of Basilica II at the midway point of the nave, and a second corridor connecting the northern side aisle of Basilica I, near the main altar, to the apse of Basilica II.[75] Only Basilica I contains a baptistery (fig. 3.59), though a small bath attached to Basilica II (fig. 3.60), which was part of an adjacent bath complex, offers rare insight into the side-by-side development of water infrastructure for bathing and ritual cleansing that occurred in Late Antiquity.

The baptistery at Bulla Regia is fully contained within the basilica, located immediately in front of the church's second apse to the southwest and flanked on the northern and southern sides by the aisles of the church. This design is in contrast to the more common stand-alone baptisteries constructed outside the walls or within auxiliary rooms attached to the church. At Bulla Regia, this certainly would have streamlined the processional route to the altar at the northeastern end of the church, as catechumens approached for their first Eucharist. The shape of the baptismal font has been the subject of some debate, for in its current state it appears as a Greek cross, with stairs on both sides of the longitudinal axis and solid walls blocking the two halves of the lateral axis from integrating fully into the basin containing the baptismal water (fig. 3.61). Both Noël Duval and Sebastian Ristow have asserted that the cruciform font represents two separate building phases, with the original font design being that of a rectangular trough, with the lateral cross-arms added later in the sixth century, presumably to enable easier access for the priest or bishop presiding over the

[75] On the history and architectural design of the complex, see Noël Duval, "Le dossier du groupe épiscopal de Bulla Regia," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (June 25, 1969): 207–235; idem, *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord*, vol. 2, *Inventaire des monuments – Interpretation*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 218 (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1973), 41–51; Azedine Beschaouch, Roger Hanoune, and Yvon Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 28 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 43–48; Duval, "L'évêque et la cathédrale en Afrique du Nord," 345–403; idem, "Les églises doubles d'Afrique du Nord," *Antiquité tardive* 4 (1996): 179–188; and Taher Ghalia, "L'architecture religieuse en Tunisie aux V$^{e}$ et VI$^{e}$ siècles," *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002): 213–222.

ceremony to pour water over the initiates' heads or submerge them for immersive baptism.[76] The walls of the cruciform font are constructed of a greenish-gray stone, perhaps *cipollino verde* marble, which is certainly the composition of the two extant columns flanking the font; and the surrounding pavement is composed of *opus sectile*, with fragments of *cipollino verde*, more locally quarried *giallo antico* from the nearby quarry of Smitthus, and other highly brecciated marbles that attest to the wealth of decoration inside the baptistery interior.

Surrounding the baptistery are a series of pavement mosaics that carefully delineate elements of the natural world, suggesting, perhaps, that the baptistery itself is in the middle of a cosmic or cartographical diagram inside the church. Caution should be exercised since so few of the mosaics inside Basilica I remain, but among pavement sections that have survived, the southwestern aisle abutting the baptistery shows two separate motifs demarcated by a geometric knotted border (fig. 3.62). On the outer edge is a thin strip of mosaic representing an underwater seascape (fig. 3.63), filled with stylized blue and yellow fish, all swimming in the same direction toward the front of the church. The next motif, moving inward toward the center of the nave, consists of birds framed by wreaths (fig. 3.64), which are themselves framed by abstracted floral designs that create a grid pattern across the aisle. Unfortunately, the mosaic pavement immediately in front of the baptistery as it connects to the nave of the basilica is missing, but the mosaics of the northern aisle, which were preserved in archival photos, do not duplicate the fish and bird motifs of the southern aisle but rather display a carpet of swirling vines and floral buds.[77] And finally, the threshold mosaic linking the southern aisle to the southwestern hall adjacent to the baptistery

[76] Duval, "Le dossier du groupe épiscopal de Bulla Regia"; idem, *Les églises africaines à deux absides*, vol. 2, 41–51; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 253, cat. nos. 699–700.
[77] Cf. Duval's black-and-white photograph from 1958, published in "Le dossier du groupe épiscopal de Bulla Regia," pl. XX, fig. 1.

presents two confronted peacocks, with a prominent, ruby-colored flower in between them (fig. 3.65). A similar mosaic appears in the middle of the nave of Basilica II, facing the high altar, where two confronted peacocks flank a *kantharos* (fig. 3.66).

The peacock motifs were certainly intended to represent paradise; in the case of Basilica II, the image directed viewers' thoughts to paradise as they approached the altar, priming them for divine epiphany through a simple, visual cue that held far more complicated mental associations of communing with the divine in a metaphysical space. In other words, the peacock motif had become nearly synonymous with paradise in Early Christian iconography, and therefore even minor representations of the bird could trigger any number of mental associations capable of picturing the terrestrial space of the church interior as a transcendent, celestial space of a renewed paradise.

For Basilica I, however, the peacocks were designed to be viewed upon entering the southwestern hall from inside the church. At least one tomb was discovered inside this hall,[78] suggesting that the space may have served as a chapel at one time, with the peacocks serving as an appropriate emblem of the paradise achieved by the faithful dead buried inside. However, because it is a threshold mosaic, linking both the hall/chapel to the aisle and nave, where the rest of the natural world is represented, the peacocks may have been in dialogue with the surrounding pavements, alerting viewers that the space they occupied was indeed part of a larger paradisiacal diagram. Certainly, the transition from fish to birds to plantlife (and potentially land-animal motifs in the center of the nave, though nothing has survived) evokes the Genesis narrative of creation. It is unclear what compositional relationship the Bulla Regia baptistery had to this cosmology since the largest section of mosaics

[78] Duval, "Le dossier du groupe épiscopal de Bulla Regia"; idem, *Les églises africaines à deux absides*, vol. 2, 41–51.

in the nave is missing, but it is feasible that the baptistery was at the center of this cosmology, representing, perhaps, the rivers of paradise that flowed out into creation and nourished it, a trope already seen in the Oued Ramel baptistery and which also appears at Mariana on the island of Corsica (fig. 3.67)[79] and the polyconch baptistery at Ohrid in Macedonia (fig. 3.49, 3.68), and which was commonly preached or alluded to in baptismal catecheses.

The significance of the rivers of paradise and its iconography was already in place in Bulla Regia by the time the cathedral complex was built. In House 10 on the eastern side of the archaeological site, a once spectacular mosaic pavement of the four rivers of paradise sat *in situ* (fig. 3.69). Now, tragically, virtually nothing is left of the mosaic except a few small patches of tesserae that show the fronds of palm trees and a small portion of the inscription excerpted from Gen. 28.17, which once read in full, "*Haec est porta caeli et haec est domus Dei*," or "This is the gate of heaven and this is the house of God" (fig. 3.70). Roger Hanoune published a brief note on this mosaic in 1983, although the personal photographs he used dated to as early as 1968.[80] In these, now archival, images, not only is the Genesis inscription still visible, but so are the fragmentary inscriptions for the rivers of paradise and the iconography of the Garden of Eden.[81] House 10, though a private, domestic space, may have doubled as a house-church, some form of reception space for Christians in the community, or it may have attested simply to the faith of the family that owned the house, not unlike

[79] Cf. G. Moracchini, "Le pavement en mosaïque de la basilique paléo-chrétienne et du baptistère de Mariana (Corse)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 13 (1962): 137–160.
[80] Roger Hanoune, "Note sur la mosaïque des fleuves du paradis de la maison n° 10," in *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Bulla Regia*, vol. 1, *Miscellanea*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 28/I, eds. Azedine Beschaouch et al. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1983), 55–58; for an additional reference to the discovery of the mosaic, see Henri-Irénée Marrou, "Rapport sur l'activité de l'École française de Rome pendant l'année 1969–1970," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 114, no. 3 (1970): 415–422, at 418–419.
[81] As Hanoune notes, though, three of the four rivers are easily identified as Gihon, Pishon, and Tigris, but the inscription for the fourth river contains only the letters ARON, which matches neither the canonical Euphrates nor any other river known in antiquity to have been associated with paradise.

the rivers of paradise inscription at Ostia Antica. In any event, the iconography of Eden and the nurturing role of the rivers of paradise had probably already been established in Bulla Regia by the fifth century, and therefore the baptismal waters of Basilica I, in conjunction with images of God's creation within the sea, in the air, and on land, may have signaled to the viewer that the baptistery was the epicenter of paradise, with the catechumens emerging from the baptismal waters as new Adams and Eves ready to assume their place in a restored Eden.

Seeing a cosmological frame for the church interior at Bulla Regia requires a little imagination and effort on the part of the viewer, but the trope was widely acknowledged in more literal representations in the eastern Mediterranean. For instance, a very literal cartographical design for creation can be found in the contemporaneous Basilica of Doumetios in Nikopolis, Greece (fig. 3.71). The north transept of the church contains a pavement mosaic of the world, reduced to its principal parts of ocean, earth, and sky, populated by plants and animals that dwell within each realm.[82] A dedicatory inscription for the mosaic, which appropriates portions of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, makes clear the topographical relationship between water and land in the created world: "Here you see the famous and boundless ocean containing in its midst the earth, bearing round about in the skilful images of art everything that breathes and creeps. The foundation of Dumetios, the great-hearted archpriest."[83] In cosmological renderings of the world in antiquity and the Middle

[82] On the mosaic as a "map" of paradise, see Ernst Kitzinger, "Mosaic Pavements in the Greek East and the Question of a 'Renaissance' under Justinian," in *Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 27 juillet–2 août 1948*, vol. 2 (Paris: Comité français des études byzantines, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1951), 209–223; idem, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics I: Mosaics at Nikopolis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 81–122; Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, Monographs on the Fine Arts 43 (University Park, London: College Art Association of America by Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 21–24.

[83] "ΩΚΕΑΝΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΦΑΝΤΟΝ ΑΠΙΡΙΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕΔΟΡΚΑΧ᾽ ΓΑΙΑΝ ΜΕΧΧΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΧΟΦΟΙΧ ΙΝΔΑΛΜΑΧΙ ΤΕΧΝΗΧ᾽ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΞ ΦΟΡΕΟΥΧΑΝ ΟΧΑ ΠΝΙΕΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΠΕΙ᾽ ΔΟΥΜΕΤΙΟΥ ΚΤΕΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΘΥΜΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΗΟΧ." English translation by Kitzinger, "Mosaic

Ages, water is always the exterior border or frame for the known expanse of the earth. Placing the aquatic-themed border at Bulla Regia against the aisle wall effectively creates this all-encompassing oceanic border for the floral and faunal elements in the adjacent mosaic panels, moving inward as through a series of concentric circles until the baptismal space is reached. In the Doumetios pavement, the very center of the composition is paradise itself, and although Basilica I at Bulla Regia takes a far less literal interpretation of the same paradisiacal trope, it nevertheless plays with the same iconography and arrangement to suggest that church interior has been transformed into the Garden of Eden, at the center of which are the baptismal waters.

This ancient understanding of geography most likely stemmed from Strabo's late-first century BCE *Geographica*, but certainly by the sixth century, if not earlier, the Early Christian impulse to unite empirical observation and scientific method with the literary account of creation in the book of Genesis had evolved into a new field of inquiry. A contemporary of Archpriest Doumetios, Kosmas Indikopleustes wrote the *Topographia Christiana* in the sixth century as a harmonization of Strabo's theories and the creation narrative in the Hebrew Bible.[84] Not only did Kosmas describe the world as a more-or-less centralized land-mass surrounded by the ocean, but also he provided a map,[85] which has been preserved in a ninth-century copy of the treatise

---

Pavements in the Greek East," 100. The language used in the inscription can be traced to the *Iliad* 17, line 447, and the *Odyssey* 18, line 131.

[84] Maguire, *Earth and Ocean*, 22.

[85] Cf. Wanda Wolska-Conus, *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès : theologie et science au VI siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962); idem, ed. and trans., *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie Chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968); Doula Mouriki, "The Octateuch Miniatures of the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1970); Leslie Brubaker, "The Relationship of Text and Image in the Byzantine Mss. of Cosmas Indicopleustes," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70 (1977): 42–57; Cynthia Hahn, "The Creation of the Cosmos: Genesis Illustration in the Octateuchs," *Cahiers archéologiques* 28 (1979): 29–40; Jean Lassus, "La création du Monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle," *Monuments et mémoires. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot* 62 (1979): 85–148; Wolska-Conus, "La 'Topographie chrétienne' de Cosmas Indicopleustès : hypothèses sur quelques thèmes de son illustration," *Revue des études byzantines* 48 (1990): 155–191; Birgitta Elweskiöld, "John Philoponus Against Cosmas Indicopleustes: A Christian Controversy on the Structure of the World in Sixth-Century Alexandria," Ph.D. diss. (Lund University, 2005); Alessandro

(Vatican MS. gr. 699, fol. 40v) (fig. 3.72).[86] To the east of the known world in Kosmos' map is paradise, shown as its own separate land-mass and interpreted here not so much as a metaphysical reality to be reconstructed through spiritual perception but rather as a literal, topographical space that existed on the earth even in Kosmos' own time.[87] The four rivers of paradise are shown flowing from their sources in the

---

Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: British Library, 2006), 160ff; Travis Lee Clark, "Imaging the Cosmos: The *Christian Topography* by Kosmas Indikopleustes," Ph.D. diss. (Temple University, 2008); Maja Kominko, "New Perspectives on Paradise: The Levels of Reality in Byzantine and Latin Medieval Maps," in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. R. J. A. Talbert and R. W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 139–153; Jeffrey C. Anderson, ed., *The Christian Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustes: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 9.28. The Map of the Universe Redrawn in the Sixth Century*, Folia picta: manoscritti miniati medievali 3 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2013); and Kominko, *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[86] A similar centripetal progression from water as an outermost frame to land masses, and finally a central point—in this case, the city of Rome is nearly at the center of the map—can be found in the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a thirteenth-century map generally thought to have been copied from late-antique sources, perhaps from the fourth or fifth century. The bibliography on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is substantial, but for general studies that examine the relationship between the present thirteenth-century copy and a proposed corpus of late-Roman sources, see especially Annalina Levi and Mario Levi, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Studi e materiali del Museo dell'Imperio romano 7 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1967); Ekkehard Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324. Vollständige Faksimile Ausg. im Originalformat* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976); Luciano Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana: una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*, I monumenti dell'arte classica 2 (Rimini: Maggioli, 1983); Konrad Miller, *Itineraria romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Bregenz: G. Husslein, 1988); Francesco Prontera, *Tabula peutingeriana: le antiche vie del mondo*, Biblioteca di "Geographia antiqua" 3 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2003); Emily Albu, "Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 136–148; Johannes Freutsmiedl, *Römische Straßen der Tabula Peutingeriana in Noricum und Raetien* (Buchenbach: Verlag Dr. Faustus, 2005); Benet Salway, "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 119–135; Hans Bauer, *Die römischen Fernstraßen zwischen IIIer und Salzach nach dem Itinerarium Antonini und der Tabula Peutingeriana. Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Routenführungen*, Geschichtswissenschaften 18 (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2007); Richard J. A. Talbert et al., *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Emily Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map: Imperial Roman Revival in a German Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[87] The physical locus of Eden on earth continued to interest Christian theologians well into the Middle Ages. For instance, in book 1 of his sixth-century epic poem, *De spiritalis historiae gestis*, Avitus of Vienne wrote that the Garden of Eden was no longer accessible to humanity but nevertheless still occupied, but by angels rather than humans. And in the hagiography of St. Makarios of Rome, the Mesopotamian monks Theophilos, Sergios, and Hygieinos were said to have traveled east in search of the Garden of Eden, coming to within twenty miles of the garden gates before being compelled to turn back by the hermit monk St. Makarios. Makarios himself had once pursued the garden's location but was warned in a divine vision that he would surely die if he walked any further, for the seraph guarding the location would not tolerate another human approaching so near. The date of the narrative is uncertain but may be as early as the eighth century and was copied and translated as a popular travel-romance well into the early-modern period, where it appears in the 1628 Latin edition of the *Vitae Patrum*. Cf. Henry Maguire, "Paradise Withdrawn," in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, eds. Antony Littlewood, Henry Maguire, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 23; and Veronica della Dora, "Gardens of Eden and Ladders to Heaven: Holy Mountain Geographies in Byzantium," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies:*

east of Eden into the rest of the inhabited western world. Although the mosaic pavement in the Basilica of Doumetios shows only fruit trees and terrestrial creatures to delineate the physical land of the earth, with nothing in particular to signal a paradisiacal interpretation, Henry Maguire has argued convincingly that the fruit trees themselves were sufficient at the time to serve as emblems of paradise.[88] This form of visual metonymy is present in Kosmos' map, where the only real difference between paradise and the rest of the world is a line of eight fruit-bearing trees. If the juxtaposition of aquatic life with the birds of the air and beasts of the land were enough to suggest a paradisiacal realm for the Doumetios pavement in the sixth century, then it is likely that Basilica 1 at Bulla Regia was following the same trope, whereby the cosmological frame for displaying the whole earth was as much a presentation of the terrestrial world as it was paradise itself. The context of the church's interior is what concretizes the paradisiacal interpretation.

Cosmologies of paradise in the Early Christian baptistery were not always so cartographical in design. Basilica nave pavements, in particular, were frequently designed with registers of aquatic life, land animals, and birds to show the three major domains of the earth and thereby reconstruct an image of a harmonious Garden of Eden immediately in front of or adjacent to the main altar.[89] The Early Christian basilicas at Rusguniae (near Tamentfoust on the Cap Matifou peninsula in Algeria, fig. 3.73) and El-Mouassat (southwest of Sfax in Tunisia, fig. 3.74) once featured nave mosaics in individual registers comprising the three primary elements of the natural world. Tragically, both churches, along with their extensive mosaic pavements, have been destroyed almost entirely. The basilica of Rusguniae was

*Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 273.
[88] Maguire, *Earth and Ocean*, 23.
[89] Ibid., 24ff.

documented by French artillery-lieutenant-turned-archaeologist Henri Chardon in 1900, and small fragments of the presbyterium mosaic in front of the apse now reside in the Musée national des antiquités et des arts islamiques in Algiers and the Musée du Louvre in Paris (fig. 3.75).[90] The fragments show a male ram and an ewe with her nursing lamb, which matches the upper-left corner of the complete mosaic that Chardon drew shortly after the site was excavated. The entire panel was once filled with male and female sheep grazing in a pasture, along with two shepherds, who are perhaps intended to be understood as the same person performing two separate actions. To the far right of the composition, a shepherd bearing a nimbus is seated on a stool milking one of the ewes, and in the middle of the scene another shepherd is shown carrying the pail of milk toward a hut-shelter for the sheep. It is unclear, however, if this second figure is also adorned with a nimbus in Chardon's drawing since the portion of the mosaic pavement around his head appears to have been damaged. This mosaic panel almost certainly was intended to evoke, if not actually represent, Christ as the Good Shepherd, caring for his flock. But adjacent to this mosaic pavement in the nave was another mosaic panel of a vast underwater seascape teeming with fish and shellfish, located in the very center of the church. The apse mosaic pavement was the most heavily damaged area of the church when Chardon sketched it, but a portion of a lamb was visible among a landscape inhabited by plantlife and bordered along the edge of the choir by another mosaic showing a row of interlocking amphorae and a large dedicatory inscription centered around the altar.

[90] On the discovery and ultimate fate of the ancient Rusguniae church, see Stéphane Gsell, "La basilique de Rusguniae (Algérie) découverte par le lieutenant Chardon," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 44 (1900): 48–52; Henri Chardon, "Fouilles de Rusguniae," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1900): 129–149; Noël Duval, "Le destin des mosaïques de l'église de Rusguniae (Matifou ou Tamentfoust) : deux fragments nouveaux," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 97, no. 2 (1985): 1113–1129; and idem, "Les Byzantins à Rusguniae," in *Actes du IIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord : réuni dans le cadre du 108e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Grenoble, 5–9 avril 1983)*, ed. Serge Lancel (Paris: CTHS, 1985), 341–360.

A second dedicatory inscription, also badly damaged, appeared at the western entrance to the church, thereby creating a frame or bookends for the Edenic landscape extending along the length of the church's interior.

A similar composition can be found in the Early Christian church of El-Mouassat in neighboring Tunisia (fig. 3.74). The nave was divided into several sections, but from approximately the halfway mark, moving forward toward the eastern apse, the mosaics assumed a markedly paradisiacal character. At the very center of the church was a large mosaic roundel showing confronted peacocks, and surrounding the roundel were fish swimming within an aquatic seascape. Abutting this panel of fish and peacocks was a square panel of kraters linked together by vinescrolls in a series of arches and overflowing with a lush floral landscape. And finally, within the apse there appeared a rinceaux composition filled with more peacocks and deer feasting on grapes, thereby alluding to the Eucharist that would have been practiced on the altar in front of the apse and displaying at the very apex of the church a scene of paradise in harmony, fertile with floral and faunal life.[91]

At La Skhira in Tunisia (fig. 3.55), the mosaics covering the nave featured a carpet of interlocking diamonds that framed images of fish and birds. As viewers progressed toward the high altar, they would have encountered two rectangular panels that flanked the altar. The first depicted the *agnus dei*, and the second presented two confronted deer with a vase in the center that contained overflowing vine tendrils with flower buds (fig. 3.45). Each of the three major elements of paradise—marine, avian, and terrestrial creatures—were therefore brought together in a spatial cosmology in

[91] Cf. Louis Poinssot and Raymond Lantier, "L'église d'El-Mouassat," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques* (1924): 171–176; idem, "L'archéologie chrétienne en Tunisie (1920–1932)," in *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristian: Ravenna 25–30 settembre 1932* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1934), 387–410, at 396–398; Lantier, "Les grands champs de fouille de l'Afrique du Nord (1915–1930)," *Archäologische Anzeiger* 46 (1931): 461–572, at 571–572; and Duval, "Le dossier de l'église d'El Mouassat (au sud-ouest de Sfax, Tunisie)," *Antiquités africaines* 8, no. 1 (1974): 157–173.

the church, and human occupants, standing before the altar for the Eucharist, would have completed the concept of paradise, with Adam amidst God's creation and confronted by the *agnus dei* as well as the body of Christ within the Eucharistic elements.

This juxtaposition of the principal categories of paradise once existed in the late-fourth or early-fifth century baptistery complex at Tipasa in Algeria (fig. 3.76). Unfortunately, none of the mosaics has survived, although the geometric pavements from the nave of the adjacent Great Basilica are still *in situ*. In 1883, however, when Pierre Gavault published his preliminary observations on the excavations of the Tipasa baptistery, he drew in considerable detail the mosaics that were uncovered at the time (fig. 3.77).[92] The actual baptismal font, which is now one of the basilica's most prominent features and one of the largest baptismal fonts in North Africa, appears to be missing from Gavault's drawing (fig. 3.78). On the revised site drawing by Jean Lassus from 1930 (fig. 3.79), all the subsidiary structures attached to the northern wall of the Great Basilica are revealed, including the baptismal font (B).[93] The reason for pointing out this difference is that Gavault identified the so-called "Hall D" on Lassus' plan as the baptistery, when in fact it was a room attached to the baptistery; but more importantly, it is where the mosaic pavements displaying the fecundity of creation started. On Gavault's drawing, "A" marks the small mosaic fragment of an underwater seascape filled with fish, lobsters, and sea snails that functioned either as a border inside the room preceding the baptistery (it was attached to the western wall of the room) or it may have spread further across the room in a wider delineated field. Fragment "C" on the same site plan represents the largest mosaic pavement from the same room containing the seascape, but instead of

[92] P. Gavault, "Tipasa. II. L'église de l'ouest." *Revue africaine* 27 (1883): 400–404.
[93] Jean Lassus, "Autour des basiliques chrétiennes de Tipasa," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 47 (1930): 225, fig. 1.

representing aquatic creatures, it focuses instead on birds and terrestrial land, as the birds are shown pecking at ripe fruit on the ground. The pairing of sea and land progressed into the baptistery itself, where the font is said to have once contained additional mosaics of fish and sea life.[94] This is hardly a sophisticated rendering of an otherwise complex cosmological model for the sea encircling the earth, but the pairing of aquatic and terrestrial domains does suggest that the overall design was intended to evoke the totality of creation, so that catechumens entering and subsequently occupying the baptistery space would be cast in performative roles over their newly discovered Eden.

Gavault also recorded an inscription in the room immediately attached to the baptistery on the northern side, and his drawing shows that it was originally connected to the mosaic fragment containing the birds walking about the earth. Labeled "B" on Gavault's drawing and site plan, the inscription was framed by a laurel-wreath border and doves in flight. Gavault recorded the inscription *in situ*, which can be reconstructed as "*Siquis* [or *si quis*] *ut vivat quaerit addiscere semper hic lavetur aqua et videat caelest*...," or "If anyone seeks to learn how to live forever, let him be cleansed here by the water and let him see [the] heaven[ly kingdom]."[95] The inscription was designed as a poem in dactylic hexameter, which means that four syllables are missing after "*caelest*...," one of which would have been the ending "-em," "-es," or "-ia," making "*caelest*..." either a noun ("heaven" or "heavens") or an adjective ("heavenly"), followed by another word or a combination of words fulfilling the meter.[96] The word "*regna*" has been suggested in conjunction with "*caelestia*,"

[94] Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 121, cat. no. 95.
[95] Gavault, "Tipasa. II," 402 and plate 28. Author's translation.
[96] A special thanks to Rachel Philbrick for discussing the poetic meter of the Tipasa inscription with me and suggesting possible reconstructions for the missing fragment of the text.

making the translation "heavenly kingdoms" or simply "heavens."[97] In any event, there is hardly a clearer statement of the expectations of a paradisiacal vision from within the baptismal waters, and the placement of this mosaic inscription just outside the baptistery suggests that it was intended for catechumens to see and most likely tread upon as they entered the baptistery.[98] This would have reinforced the Edenic landscape that spread out before their feet, and the aquatic scenes, in particular, would have created a visual play with the substantial amount of water held within the baptismal font, enabling the initiates to both walk upon the waters of creation and be submerged within them.

*Expanding the Role of Agency in Paradisiacal Space*

There is a natural inclination to view the display of paradise in the Early Christian baptistery as a passive element of the interior decoration, a context or stage upon which catechumens performed the Edenic return in the baptismal liturgy. This is not, however, the way in which paradise or the elements that formed its image were thought of in Early Christian rhetoric, particularly the language used to describe paradisiacal space in mystagogical catecheses. Paradise was not simpy a locus for a

[97] Cf. Stéphane Gsell, "Tipasa, ville de la Maurétanie Césarienne," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 14 (1894): 369. Note that Gsell first reconstructs the inscription as "Si quis ut vivat quaerit addiscere semper | Hic lavetur aqua et videat caelest[ia dona]," rendering the last two words as "heavenly gifts." In the corresponding footnote, however, Gsell offers "*regna*" as a possibility as well. More recent scholars have preferred "*regna*." Cf. Robert Favreau, "L'épigraphie comme source pour la liturgie," in *Vom Quellenwert der Inschriften. Vorträge und Berichte der Fachtagung, Esslingen 1990*, Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 7, ed. Renate Neumüllers-Klauser (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), 85–86; idem, "Les inscriptions des fonts baptismaux d'Hildesheim : baptême et quaternité," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995): 139.

[98] This processional route, however, is complicated by the presence of a large apsidal hall attached to the southern side of the baptistery that has been interpreted variously by Gavault, "Tipasa. II," 400–404, as a chapel (though no liturgical furnishings, including altar foundations, were discovered during excavations); by Duval, "L'évêque et la cathédrale en Afrique du Nord," 345–403, as a catechetical hall, or *consignatorium*, for the instruction and confirmation of the initiates; and by Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 121, cat. no. 95, as possibly a separate church ("kleine Kirche neben der Kathedrale"). The function of the hall is still unclear, but mosaic fragments from the apse, recorded by Gavault, show a field of sheep, a theme displayed elsewhere in the *consignatorium* attached to the baptistery of Aquileia, Italy.

performance, but rather it "performed" in its own right, interacting sensorially with the catechumens in a space thought to be activated by divine presence and therefore alive.

In recent years, art historians have become increasingly interested in the active agency that ancient and medieval viewers ascribed to art and architecture, whereby seemingly insentient or inanimate objects, images, visions, or ephemera were cast as living entities that interacted with human bodies in ritualized or otherwise sacred space.[99] Much of the current interest in inanimate agency can be traced to the influence of Alfred Gell's posthumous *Art and Agency*, which proposed an anthropological theory of an "art nexus" for understanding the complex social relationships between objects or works of art (indexes), the individuals or objects they represent (prototypes), the viewers who interact with the indexes (recipients), and designers or craftsmen who create the indexes (artists).[100] For anyone working in the fields of premodern visuality and theology, however, the relational network between index, prototype, and recipient is hardly a revelation. Ancient and medieval viewers commonly understood icons, relics, and other cultic objects as vessels for sacred or mystical presence that was made immanent within the materiality of the vessel. Furthermore, these objects were capable of infusing the spaces they inhabited with the same sacred presence. Alexei Lidov's seminal work on the field of hierotopy has

[99] See, for instance, the collection of essays in *Art's Agency and Art History*, eds. Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner (Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007); and *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, eds. Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[100] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford; London: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press), 1998. Gell's own theory is dependent largely on Marcel Mauss' work on social network theory in *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London, New York: Routledge, 1990); originally published as "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *L'Année sociologique*, nouvelle série 1 (1923–1924): 30–186. Gell's theory has not been without its detractors. See especially Ross Bowden, "A Critique of Alfred Gell on *Art and Agency*," *Oceania* 74, no. 4 (2004): 309–324; and Howard Morphy, "Art as Mode of Action: Some Problems with Gell's *Art and Agency*," *Journal of Material Culture* 14, no. 1 (2009): 5–27.

advanced this discussion considerably,[101] and recent work by Nicoletta Isar, Bissera Pentcheva, and Glenn Peers, among others, has exposed the permeable and tenuous boundaries that existed between cultic objects, architecture, and viewers in the Middle Ages and Byzantium.[102] It was within this model of performative agency that Early Christian baptismal space was equipped with visual and liturgical cues that not only facilitated the construction of sacred space but also highlighted the animate, active agency of water or the centralized font in the baptismal drama. This effectively transformed the baptismal font and its contents from the "living waters" mentioned so frequently in Early Christian literature to a "living presence" that interacted relationally with the catechumens undergoing baptism.

Viewing these elements of baptismal space as vessels of divine agency is similar to the attribution of living agency to icons in the Middle Ages, where the likeness to divine persons or saints is complemented by the figures' living presence,

---

[101] The term hierotopy was first introduced by Lidov in 2001 and has since been expanded across multiple disciplines to encompass a broad range of theoretical models for understanding the composition and organization of sacred space. For an overview, see Lidov, "Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History," in *Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси], ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Прогресс-Традиция, 2006), 32–58—also published in the same volume as "Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования," 9–31; and idem, Иеротопия : пространственные иконы и образы-парадигмы в византийской культуре (Moscow: Дизайн. Информация. Картография. Троица, 2009). For an incipient form of hierotopy as a more phenomenological construct, see Pavel Florensky's description of "interlinked" (сплетается) ecclesiastical space in "The Church Ritual as a Synthesis of the Arts," in *Pavel Florensky. Beyond Vision: Essays on the Perception of Art*, ed. Nicoletta Misler, trans. Wendy Salmond (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 101–111; originally published as "Храмовое действо как синтез искусств," *Маковец* 1 (1922): 28–32.

[102] See especially Nicoletta Isar, "The Dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine *xopós*," *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (2003): 179–204; idem, "'*Xopós* of light': Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's Poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae*," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 215–242; Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Isar, "ΧΟΡΌΣ: Dancing into the Sacred Space of Chora: An Inquiry into the Choir of Dance from the Chora," *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 199–224; Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): 631–655; idem, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Isar, "Imperial ΧΟΡΌΣ: A Spatial Icon of Time as Eternity," in *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Пространственные иконы : перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси], ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Индрик, 2011), 143–166; and Wescoat and Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Sacred*.

mediated through the materiality of the object or image itself.[103] This is not to say that Early Christian theologians or viewers considered the elements of baptismal space as icons in the same way that later medieval viewers understood the relationship between index and prototype in venerated images of Christ, the Virgin, or saints. Moreover, it would be anachronistic to apply uncritically the tenets of Byzantine icon theory as it developed centuries later in the midst of the Iconoclastic Controversy. Nevertheless, material elements of sacred space were commonly described in Late Antiquity as bearers of divine substance, and theological justifications for object agency are the forerunners to the more robust discussions of icons in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Though based on theological developments from the later Byzantine period, Lidov's concept of the "spatial icon," discussed briefly in chapter 1, is perhaps the best way to understand this form of inanimate agency. The topic of a 2009 hierotopy conference in Moscow,[104] spatial-icon theory offers a methodological framework for understanding baptismal fonts and the water they circumscribed as icons endowed with their own agency, functioning as "image-paradigms" (образы парадигмы)

---

[103] The bibliography on icon theory is vast, but for an overview of the principal tenets and historical developments from Late Antiquity to the Iconoclastic Controversy, see in particular Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953): 1–34; Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage als theologisches Problem der alten Kirche," in *Das Gottesbild im Abendland*, ed. Wolfgang Schöne et al. (Witten: Eckart-Verlag, 1957), 77–108; Christoph von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ : fondements théologiques élaborés entre le I^er^ le II^e^ Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1976); Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); originally published as *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München: C. H. Beck, 1990); and Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002). For the animate agency of icons, see especially Anna Kartsonis, "The Responding Icon," In *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. Linda Safran (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 58–80; Liz James, "Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium," *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2004): 522–537; Peers, *Sacred Shock*; Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon"; idem, *The Sensual Icon*; and Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 131–178.

[104] The conference proceedings were published as *Spatial Icons*.

within the construction of liturgical space.[105] In this way, water and the font containing it can be viewed as the indexes based on prototypes—in this case, paradise as an entity, either personified or represented in some fashion. The baptismal font and its waters were the chief elements in baptismal hierotopy; the sacrality of baptismal space was constructed around them, and indeed for them. The baptismal water itself was often understood as a liminal substance, paralleling the bodies of the catechumens themselves, whereby material forms within the baptistery balanced on the threshold between terrestrial and celestial realities. Just as catechumens occupied a hierotopical space that allowed them to pierce the veil that separated heaven and earth and glimpse an eschatological paradise that awaited them after death, so too did the baptismal waters form a necessary link between two worlds. Inhabited by the Holy Spirit, the waters were understood as the *physical* substance through which catechumens entered *metaphysically* into the body of Christ.

*Spiritual Vision and Animate Space*

Perceiving the baptismal waters or other elements of baptismal space as consubstantial—that is, maintaining their materiality even as they were transfigured into metaphysical emblems—required a transformation of vision. In many cases, this transformation of sensory perception was addressed explicitly in the catechetical sermons delivered to the initiates leading up to the rite of baptism. For instance, in Ambrose's *De mysteriis*, written for his baptismal initiates in Milan, he repeatedly asks the catechumens what they saw, heard, and experienced within the baptistery as

[105] Cf. Lidov, "Spatial Icons. The Miraculous Performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople," in *Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси] (Moscow: Прогресс-Традиция, 2006), 349–372; idem, "'Image-Paradigms' as a Category of Mediterranean Visual Culture: A Hierotopic Approach to Art History," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art, the University of Melbourne, 13–18 January 2008*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton; Melbourne: Miegunyah Press; Melbourne University Press, 2009), 148–153; idem, *Spatial Icons*; and idem, "The Temple Veil as a Spatial Icon: Revealing an Image-Paradigm of Medieval Iconography and Hierotopy," *IKON* 7 (2014): 97–108.

they stood before the central font:

> What did you see? Water, of course, but not only water. You saw deacons ministering there, the high priest asking questions and performing blessings. First of all, the Apostle [Paul] instructed you not to contemplate those things, 'which we see, but rather the things that are not seen, for things that are seen are temporary. Things that are not seen, however, are eternal' [2 Cor. 4.18]. For elsewhere you have, 'Therefore, the invisible things of God, since the creation of the world, are comprehended through things that were made: His eternal strength and divinity also are determined by his works' [Rom. 1.20]. Moreover, the Lord himself said, 'If you do not believe me, then believe my works' [Jn. 10.38]. Believe, therefore, that the divine is present there. Do you believe the work but not the presence? Where does the work come from if presence does not come before it?[106]

Ambrose's paraphrase of 2 Cor. 4.18 and subsequent argument on the nature of spiritual vision are echoed throughout the baptismal treatise and reflect one of the more common Neoplatonic tropes in Early Christian theology, namely, that the material or terrestrial world is but a reflection of a heavenly or celestial world, whose imprint can be discerned through the materiality of created forms and human experience. Later in the same chapter, Ambrose makes this trope more explicit when he states, "Therefore, do not believe in your bodily eyes alone. The invisible is indeed more visible, for that which is seen corporeally is temporal, whereas the other is eternal. That which is not comprehended by the eyes, but rather is perceived by the soul and the mind, is yet more visible."[107] Like other mystagogical theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries,[108] Ambrose envisioned baptismal space as a series of

---

[106] Ambrose of Milan, *De mysteriis*, 3.8: "Quid vidisti? Aquas utique, sed non solas: levitas illic ministrantes, summum sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem. Primum omnium docuit te apostolus *non* ea contemplanda *nobis, quae videntur, sed quae non videntur, quoniam, quae videntur, temporalia sunt, quae autem non videntur, aeterna.* Nam et alibi habes, quia *invisibilia* dei *a creatura mundi per ea, quae facta sunt, conpraehenduntur, sempiterna quoque virtus eius et divinitas* operibus aestimatur. Unde et ipse dominus ait: *Si mihi non creditis, vel operibus credite.* Crede ergo divinitatis illic adesse praesentiam. Operationem credis, non credis praesentiam? Unde sequeretur operatio, nisi praecederet ante praesentia?" In *Sancti Ambrosii opera. Pars settima*, CSEL 73, ed. Otto Faller (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1955), 91–92.

[107] Ibid., 3.15; Faller, 95: "Non ergo solis corporis tui credas oculis. Magis videtur, quod non videtur, quia istud temporale, illud aeternum. Magis aspicitur, quod oculis non conpraehenditur, animo autem ac mente cernitur." Ambrose later repeats the sentiment in 4.19 and 8.44, and it appears in the treatise *De sacramentis*, 1.3.10 and 3.2.12, which traditionally has been ascribed to Ambrose.

[108] For a synoptic comparison of the baptismal catecheses of the four principal mystagogical theologians of the late-fourth to early-fifth century, see Hugh M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A*

thresholds, both physical and spiritual, that delineated the frontiers of divine revelation and concealment for the initiate. Only those with spiritual vision could perceive the mysteries behind their more mundane signifiers in both the architecture and decoration of the baptistery and in the liturgy performed within that space.[109] Even at the outset of *De mysteriis*, Ambrose describes the interior of the baptistery as the "Holy of Holies," the inner sanctum of the temple in Jerusalem, and therefore the principal locus of God's presence and ritual activity, but also a crucial demarcation of sacred, spatial boundaries that separated those initiated into the service of God from those compelled to dwell within the outer courts, or periphery, of the temple's architecture.[110] This analogy was particularly appropriate to the Early Christian catechumenate, in which pre-baptismal initiates were barred access to full participation in the Church, in part because they had not yet been endowed with the spiritual vision necessary for achieving a mystical communion with the divine.

For Ambrose, as well as his mystagogical contemporaries throughout the Mediterranean and Levant in the late-fourth and fifth centuries, the Early Christian baptistery was conceived as a locus where material forms experienced through the carnal senses functioned as catalysts for the spiritual transformation of vision.[111] The

---

*Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1974).

[109] On Ambrose's rhetoric of spiritual vision in *De mysteriis*, see Georgia Frank, "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *Church History* 70, no. 4 (2001): 619–643. See also Ambrose's contemporary, John Chrysostom, on the distinctions between terrestrial and celestial vision at baptism in *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus series), 3.11–12, and the collection of essays on the theology of Early Christian sensory perception in Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley, eds., *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20–120. On the earliest Christian discourse of the spiritual senses, see Karl Rahner, "Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 13 (1932): 113–145.

[110] Cf. Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, 2.5ff. The analogy of the baptistery as the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem Temple is repeated in expanded form in *De sacramentis*, 4.1.1–4.

[111] For primary sources, see Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus* (especially *Post traditum baptisma* and *De Exodo*); Gregory of Nyssa, *In diem luminum* and *De oratione Dominica*; Basil of Caesarea, *De baptismo*; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*, *Catecheses mystagogiae*, *Catecheses illuminandorum*, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, and *De mysteriis*; John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*;

accoutrements of baptismal space were understood as mere signifiers of an immaterial reality made manifest to catechumens once they interacted ritually with the waters of baptism. Baptismal waters, therefore, were consubstantial, holding their material properties of physical, tangible substance, while at the same time transcending their materiality through the power of Christ to become typological, salvific emblems. Ambrose, for instance, while imagining his initiates standing before the baptismal font, describes the water as an archetype of the fountain at Marah, which Moses made sweet for the Israelites, just as the priest's blessing of the baptismal font facilitated its transformation for the catechumens; the River Jordan, which cleansed Naaman of his leprosy at the behest of Elisha; and the pool of Bethesda, which the angel of the Lord activated as an agent of divine healing.[112] Each biblical comparison is designed not merely as an allegorical or typological reading of the waters of baptism, but also a catechetical exposition of the active agency of water in the baptismal rite, a living vessel in which the Holy Spirit was thought to dwell, and whose divine presence became palpable to initiates if their spiritual senses had been activated to perceive it.

Ambrose was hardly alone in his desire that baptismal initiates acquire and learn to use spiritual perception for glimpsing paradise and participating in the divine mysteries. The trope was widespread across the Mediterranean and Levant in Late Antiquity. Cyril of Jerusalem, also writing to baptismal catechumens in the fourth century, insisted that the initiates' faces be veiled and their physical vision obscured immediately prior to baptism so that they would rely on their other senses to perceive the sacred within the baptistery.[113] And during the anointing ceremony, or chrismation, the bishop or priest presiding over the ritual symbolically activated the

---

Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homiliae de baptismo*; Narsai, *Homiliae* (especially 17, 21, and 22); and John the Deacon, "Epistola ad Senarium."

[112] Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, 3.14, 3.16–17, 4.22.

[113] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*, 9.

spiritual senses of the initiate by anointing the bodily centers associated with perception and discernment, including the head, eyes, nose, mouth, ears, chest, hands, and feet.[114] The Syriac theologian Narsai, writing in the fifth century, describes the anointing ritual during baptism as physical action that awakens the spiritual senses of the soul.[115] Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the late-fifth or sixth century even introduced a term for this spiritual awakening during baptism: θεογενεσία, or "divine birth."[116] And John Chrysostom, in his *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, warned his catechumens of the sensory transformation that he hoped would occur as they approached the baptismal font: "God has made for us two kinds of eyes: those of the flesh and those of faith. When you come to the sacred initiation, the eyes of the flesh see water; the eyes of faith behold the Spirit."[117] He goes on to describe the dichotomies of carnal and spiritual vision in witnessing the baptismal rite unfold.

To see and experience the elements of baptismal space as anything more than their material properties, or to obtain epiphany and witness divine agency through the seemingly lifeless waters of baptism, catechumens were expected to perceive their surroundings with the eyes of faith and spiritual insight.

*The Animated Landscape of Paradise*

With catechumens' senses primed for perceiving the invisible in anticipation of a divine encounter, the manufactured elements of baptismal space were transformed into catalysts or vessels for the divine to become manifest. Baptisteries adorned with mosaics and/or marble revetment enveloped catechumens in a

[114] Cf. Frank, "'Taste and See,'" 623–630.
[115] Narsai, *Homiliae*, 22.
[116] Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, III, 425A 23–B 4. On Dionysius' use of the term and his baptismal theology, see especially Paul L. Gavrilyuk, "Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite," in *The Spiritual Senses*, 86–103.
[117] John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus series), 3.3.9–12. English translation in Frank, "'Taste and See,'" 635.

shimmering play of light reflecting off of stone, glass, and aquatic surfaces, usually by candlelight. Chants and hymns sung within the baptistery would have echoed inside. And the odor of burning incense, wafting from thuribles; the taste of milk and honey, bread and wine, during the Eucharist; or the sensation of walking barefoot on mosaic floors may have saturated the initiates' senses of smell, taste, and touch, even as their sense of sight was overwhelmed by the visual display of the baptistery interior or the imagined return to paradise. The materiality of surface itself and the baptismal accoutrements served as the agency for the baptistery's own performativity. As catechumens envisioned the baptismal font as the intersection of the rivers of paradise, the ciborium or cupola over the font as the dome of heaven, or the pavement upon which they tread as the verdant landscape of the Garden of Eden, they were urged to project onto those features a degree of reciprocal affect that activated the structures as animate objects within the salvation narrative.[118]

Among these baptismal spaces and the paradisiacal visions they attempted to project, it was the baptismal font and the mystical waters it circumscribed that served as the principal agents of salvation, the gateway for experiencing paradise and new life within the Christian community. Therefore, not only were they often architecturally central to the baptismal space, but also they were often decorated in ways that emphasized the metaphysical and hierotopical role of water in facilitating a mystical vision within the space. At the Polyconch Basilica in Ohrid (figs. 3.49–3.50, 3.68), the font itself has been transformed into the locus of Eden, positioned at the very intersection of the four rivers of paradise. Here catechumens would have stood in the baptismal waters as personifications of the Tigris, Euphrates, Gihon, and Pishon Rivers emanated obliquely into the surrounding mosaic pavement from between the

[118] On this phenomenological response in icon veneration, see Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," 631–632.

cross-arms of the font, which mark the cardinal points of the compass. These river personifications in turn frame the paradisiacal motifs of deer and birds drinking from fountains that project centrifugally outward into the baptistery's niches from the central font. In this hierarchical construct, the rivers of paradise become the water sources that nourish all of creation. At Ohrid, however, the initiates are made part of this agency that sustains God's creation from the epicenter of paradise itself, the baptismal font.

Only a little over a decade ago, a second Early Christian baptistery (fig. 3.80) was discovered west of the Polyconch Basilica in what is now the Plaošnik and site of St. Clement of Ohrid's late-ninth or early-tenth century monastery and the former Imaret Mosque.[119] Similar paradisiacal, as well as apotropaic, motifs appear on the pavement around the baptismal font, including deer nursing their young (fig. 3.81) and a roundel with a lion, basilisk, and two serpents (fig. 3.82). This reference to Ps. 91.13 was typically regarded in Early Christian thought as a prefiguration of Christ, such as in the Orthodox Baptistery (fig. 1.24) or the Cappella di Sant'Andrea in the Episcopal Palace at Ravenna (fig. 3.83),[120] but here in the Plaošnik it was most likely applied to the catechumens themselves, who may have stood on the roundel as they faced west and renounced Satan. Assuming that the baptismal liturgy of Ohrid in the fifth and sixth centuries correlated to other known liturgies along the Adriatic and Mediterranean, then the catechumens would have entered the baptismal font after their renunciation of Satan and profession of Christ. And it was at this time that they

[119] Snežana Filipova, "Motifs Employed within the Early Christian Mosaic of the Recently Discovered Baptistery at Plaosnik, Near Ohrid," paper presented at the Prvi Međunarodni Znanstveni skup Ikonografskih Studija, *Kristološke Teme – Riječ i Slika u Kršćanskoj Ikonografiji* (First International Conference of Iconography, *Christological Themes – Word and Image in the Christian Iconography*), Rijeka, May 24–25, 2007; and idem, "Ранохристијанските културни центри во Република Македонија долж Via Egnatia," *Patrimonium* 7–8 (2010): 136.

[120] Cf. Spiro K. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 18 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 67–68; and Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 188–196.

would have stood, quite literally, on the earth of paradise, for the bottom of the Plaošnik's baptismal font contains a second mosaic roundel (figs. 3.84–3.85) that shows two peacocks perched in palm trees, drinking from an overflowing *kantharos* fountain, a motif similar in composition to Stobi (fig. 3.38). Like its neighboring baptistery only a short distance north in the Polyconch Basilica, the Plaošnik font is transformed into a locus of paradise. As catechumens stood with bare feet upon the pavement of the font, their bodies were imprinted not only with the authority of Christ, to whom they confessed their allegiance as they were signed and sealed in the liturgy, but also they were imprinted by paradise itself within the baptismal waters. In both the Polyconch and Plaošnik baptisteries, the baptismal fonts—seemingly static, fixed, and immobile architectural elements of the ritual space—are adorned with paradisiacal iconography that would have enlivened their surfaces and enabled them to interact both theologically and sensorially with the initiates as agents of salvation.

*Conclusion*

Baptismal fonts and their waters mediated the spatial divide between heavenly and earthly realms, similar to the performativity attributed to icons as activated agents in liturgical space. The architectural and decorative elements of a baptistery performed through their materiality, which made both figural and nonfigural elements of the iconography of paradise appear alive and engaged with human sensory perception as agents of a living landscape or celestial realm under divine control.

Adopting this form of spiritual perception was fundamental to epiphany within the baptistery, for the carnal senses were deemed unreliable, corrupted, and incapable of penetrating the veil of sanctity. They could lead the initiate to the veil, but to cross it, the catechumen had to abandon carnality and adopt a spiritual vision that transcended the materiality of mundane forms. Imagining the baptismal font and its

regenerative waters as the gateway to paradise endowed the physical substance of stone and water with the active, animate agency that is attributed far too often to the exclusive domain of human participants. Baptismal waters and fonts were sites of encounter between terrestrial materials and spiritually transcendent experience. Like icons, their surfaces were activated when they interacted relationally and reciprocally with the viewer, and they became living agents of salvation within the baptismal drama.

# CHAPTER 4

## Swimming with the Fishes: Rebirth and Epiphany in the Baptisteries of North Africa

The construction of paradisiacal space in most Early Christian baptisteries relies on pictorial motifs that become synecdoches of the Garden of Eden or the eschatological paradise of the New Jerusalem. These signal to the viewer that individual images of flora, fauna, or ethereal, cosmological symbols—either as stand-alone motifs or in relation to one another—should be understood as emblems of paradise. In Late Antiquity, it is rare to find illusionistic or naturalistic examples of a paradisiacal landscape. The principal elements are, instead, isolated, abstracted, and centralized within architectural spaces that highlight the most important and recognizable features of paradise.

Alternatively, the materiality of baptismal space itself could suggest an Edenic landscape or a glimpse of a radiant heaven. Combining translucent and highly reflective glass mosaic tesserae with alabaster, porphyry, or colored marble wall revetment, mosaic, *opus sectile*, or paving slabs created ever-changing plays of light when surfaces were illuminated by candlelight, lamps, or natural light. The same stone surfaces also facilitated illusions of movement, particularly when made of heavily brecciated marbles containing swirling or wavy geological patterns that complemented the undulating movement of the water within baptismal fonts. These stone surfaces activated the baptismal space as one of dynamic rather than static energy that would have set the tone for an active engagement with the divine, manipulating the human senses to become more receptive to visual stimuli and the active agency of divine presence. The design strategy transformed into physical manifestations of paradise the materiality of the stone- or mosaic-adorned surfaces

that catechumens tread upon, the fonts into which they descended, or the cupolas and ciboria under which the baptismal rite occurred, with the hard, inflexible properties of stone and glass reimagined as soft, pliable earth populated by rippling streams that nourished a fertile creation or a bright, multi-colored heavenly epiphany, akin to the ecstatic biblical visions of Moses (Ex. 24.10), Ezekiel (Ez. 1.26, 10.1), or the Apostle John (Rev. 21.19). Processing through or gazing upon these Edenic or heavenly landscapes, catechumens occupied a liminal space in which the physical, carnal nature of their sensory experience within the baptistery gave way to spiritual perception capable of "sensing" the immaterial and ineffable reality of paradise through the material properties used to construct it fictively.

Until now, the discussion of images or visions of paradise has focused primarily on terrestrial components that suggested a return to the Garden of Eden, or occasionally modifications that made the theme more appropriate for an eschatological paradise, the foretaste of what was to come. Not every example of the paradisiacal vision, however, was constructed in strictly terrestrial or heavenly terms. Aquatic motifs could signal to catechumens the same paradisiacal space, while at the same time allude polyvalently to several pericopes in Genesis and the Gospels that were interpreted by Early Christian theologians as baptismal tropes, not least of which was the creation of the world and the Garden of Eden. Among the extant baptisteries of North Africa, for example, the terrestrial landscape of the Garden of Eden is often augmented—or occasionally entirely supplanted—by an aquatic seascape. The phenomenon appears almost exclusively within the Romano-Byzantine provinces of Mauretania Caesariensis, Numidia, and especially Africa Proconsularis, corresponding approximately to present-day northeastern Algeria and central and northeastern Tunisia. Baptisteries, as spaces for containing and displaying actual

water, as well as for fictive or illusionistic representations of water, were natural environments for aquatic imagery, but depictions of the sea and aquatic life are scarce in Early Christian baptisteries outside of the North African provinces.[1]

*The State of Preservation and Significance of a North African Regional Study*

This is not to say that North African baptisteries held a monopoly on aquatic imagery during Late Antiquity. However, so few baptisteries from the period have preserved their original decoration that it is impossible to determine regional iconographical trends in most cases. The Early Christian baptisteries of North Africa, by contrast, and especially those in Tunisia, are far better preserved for discerning their earliest building phases than baptisteries along the northern Mediterranean, Iberian Peninsula, Balkans, or Levant, where most extant baptisteries have been stripped of their decoration, remodeled in the later Middle Ages or early-modern and baroque periods, or exist as palimpsests with only small traces of earlier decoration viewable through multiple layers of architectural and decorative accretions. Heavy-handed restorations, particularly in Italy, in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries have also complicated the study of original mosaic compositions inside baptisteries, reconstruction of inscriptions, and late-antique architectural layouts. In most cases, the same cannot be said of North African archaeological sites, which were most often stabilized but not restored, and although mosaics and occasionally entire baptismal fonts were removed to regional museums for protection, the original contexts for the fonts or their surrounding decoration were often documented

[1] Only the sixth-century baptistery at Butrint (Albania) employs aquatic imagery in a similar manner—in this case, fish as well as an actual fountain within the baptistery—but the imagery is subsumed by a much grander cosmological diagram of terrestrial elements. See William Bowden and Luan Përzhita, "The Baptistery," in *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*, eds. Richard Hodges, William Bowden, and Kosta Lako (Oxford: Oxbow Books for The Butrint Foundation, 2004), 176–201; John Mitchell, "The Mosaic Pavements of the Baptistery," in *Byzantine Butrint*, 202–218; and idem, *Pagëzimorja e Butrintit dhe mozaikët e saj (The Butrint Baptistery and Its Mosaics)* (London: Butrint Foundation, 2008).

sufficiently to reconstruct the space.

The preservation of North African baptisteries can also be credited as a fortunate byproduct of historical circumstances. Most cities in North Africa under Byzantine control were already in a state of economic and political decline by the end of the sixth century,[2] but the Arab Conquest less than a century later further destabilized the region. The initial siege of Egypt in 639–642 under Caliph ʻUmar ibn Al-Khattab quickly spread west through the Byzantine provinces of Cyrenaica, Phasania, and Tripolitania in Libya. After ʻUmar's death in 644, ʻUthman ibn Affan was made caliph and continued the expansionist policies of his predecessor, taking Sbeïtla (Sufetula) in Tunisia in 647. It was not until 695, however, that Carthage fell under the rule of Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, with all of Byzantine North Africa under Muslim control by 709.[3] Archaeologists and historians still remain somewhat divided over the extent of the Arab Conquest based on extant sources. Historians have typically relied on the rhetoric of conquest from both Christian and Muslim literary sources to reconstruct the invasion as catastrophic and effectively ending the cultural prosperity that North Africa enjoyed under Byzantine rule. More recently, however, archaeologists have disputed the historical accounts as near fiction,[4] arguing that the physical evidence of occupation following the Arab

[2] The extent of destabilization, however, is not nearly as universal or widespread as once assumed. See Corisande Fenwick, "From Africa to Ifrīqiya: Settlement and Society in Early Medieval North Africa (650–800)," *Al-Masāq* 25, no. 1 (2013): 9–33; Anna Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab Conquest* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2007); and Fenwick, "'Where Are Those Great and Splendid Cities?' Urbanization and Landscape Change in North Africa Across the *Longue Durée* (500 B.C.E.–800 C.E.)," paper presented at the session *Colloquium: Current Developments in North African Archaeology: AIA/DAI New Projects and Joint Efforts,* American Archaeological Institute Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, January 7, 2016.

[3] For an overview of the Arab Conquest, see especially Michael Brett, "The Arab Conquest and the Rise of Islam in North Africa," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 2, *c. 500 BC–AD 1050*, ed. J. D. Fage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 490–555; Walter E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and idem, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[4] The Arab Conquest of North Africa has been treated historically in much the same way that the Middle Ages were once considered pejoratively as the "Dark Ages." However, based on archaeological case studies of both urban and rural settlements in North Africa during the eighth century, Fenwick has

Conquest points to a continuity of cultural development well into the Middle Ages.[5] The literary accounts are indeed hyperbolic, but the archaeological remains of the seventh and eighth centuries are not nearly as robust and conclusive for disputing the traditional narrative, especially in the western provinces, where, for the purposes of this study, ecclesiastical commissions from Christian communities following the conquest are virtually nonexistent. Based on the sharp decline in building activity in the seventh and eighth centuries in most North African cities throughout the Maghreb—and comparatively meager physical traces of Christianity in the region—it seems clear that the conquest had a significant impact on the Christian (as well as Berber) communities. Even if North African cities were already in a state of decline before the conquest, many (though clearly not all) late-antique sites that were damaged during the Arab Conquest were not rebuilt to their former glory. Moreover, the supposed "Golden Age" of Late Roman and Early Christian art and architecture in the region had already come and gone by the time the Umayyads seized control.

---

argued convincingly that late-antique North African culture, including Christian communities, continued well into the eighth and ninth centuries under the Umayyad and Abbasid Islamic caliphates. Cf. Fenwick, "From Africa to Ifrīqiya." Yvon Thébert and Jean-Louis Biget have also argued that the most significant transformation of North African urban and rural life occurred in the fourth through sixth centuries and had very little to do with the Arab Conquest, further arguing that varying degrees of cultural and certainly economic continuity persisted well into the fourteenth century. See "L'Afrique après la disparition de la cité classique : cohérence et ruptures dans l'histoire maghrébine," in *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain (I^er^ siècle av. J.C.–IV^e^ siècle ap. J.C. Actes du colloque org. par l'École française de Rome dous le patronage de l'Institut national d'archéologie et d'Art de Tunis (Rome, 3–5 décembre 1987)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 134 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1990), 575–602; and Khaled Belkhodja, "L'Afrique byzantine a la fin du VI^e^ et au début du VII^e^ siècle," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 8 (1970): 55–65. These arguments, however, focus neither on the religious cultures of the region before and after the conquest, nor do they account for the near complete disappearance of monumental Christian building programs or even minor, more portable arts from the seventh century on.

[5] Ralf Bockmann has made a similar argument regarding the conquest of North Africa by the Vandals in 429–439, which resulted in a century of Vandalic rule throughout Numidia and parts of Mauretania, Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena, and Tripolitania until Emperor Justinian reconquered the region for the Byzantines in 533–534. Traditionally, the Vandalic conquest and occupation were seen as a monumental disruption to North African culture and urban stability. The archaeological record of the fifth and sixth centuries, however, paints an entirely different picture and testifies to a surprising level of cultural continuity and prosperity under Vandalic rule. Cf. Ralf Bockmann, *Capital Continuous: A Study of Vandal Carthage and Central North Africa from an Archaeological Perspective*, Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 37 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013).

However, mass displacement of Byzantine residents fleeing across the Mediterranean immediately before, during, and after the conquest; widespread conversion to Islam; and economic crisis resulting from the temporary disruption of regional trade networks and the implementation of the *jizya* (جزية), the Islamic tax levied against non-Muslim populations, were almost certainly contributing factors to the marked decline in physical evidence of Christian communities in North Africa.[6] Unlike their Byzantine/Coptic counterparts in Egypt, who maintained a thriving presence long after the province was wrested from the control of Constantinople, the Christian presence in the western provinces of North Africa fell sharply after the seventh century.

The decline, abandonment, and/or transformation of North African cities between the late-sixth and early-eighth century helped preserve late-antique structures that have since been excavated. The *terminus ad quem*, therefore, for all known baptisteries in the Maghreb is ca. 600, if not several decades earlier. And although marble columns, revetment, and other stone building materials were spoliated from churches, civic structures, and houses for the construction of new cities and mosques—often built adjacent to or just a few kilometers from the original Byzantine sites—decorative elements such as pavement mosaics were typically left *in situ*, most likely because their reuse value was considerably lower. Christian churches and baptisteries throughout the region, therefore, remain as witnesses to design trends from the fourth to sixth centuries, and the aquatic iconography or attempts to pair fictive representations of water with actual water allow for a unique analysis of Christian baptismal space across a tighter urban network of cities.

[6] Fenwick rightly notes that the occupation layers of early-medieval North Africa that *could* attest to a more complex narrative of Christian-Islamic relations after the conquest were frequently destroyed, discarded, or ignored by early-twentieth century archaeologists seeking to restore sites to their former Roman or Byzantine contexts. Cf. Fenwick, "From Africa to Ifrīqiya," 11.

*Harnessing the Sea: Christian Appropriations of Marine Iconography*

The regional distribution of aquatic imagery in North African baptisteries is hardly surprising given the profusion of aquatic motifs in the pavement mosaics of Roman houses and bath complexes in North Africa, where the fecundity of the sea was a symbol for the prosperity and wealth of the Latin provinces of the southern Mediterranean during the late empire.[7] These secular spaces were undoubtedly the early influence for the use of aquatic motifs in Early Christian baptisteries, but based on their arrangement and design, as well as evidence from early baptismal treatises and catecheses, it seems clear that North African churches not only appropriated these marine motifs but also reinterpreted their meaning for the theological concerns of the Christian community. This process of appropriation, assimilation, and/or adaptation is, of course, the foundation for theories of the emergence of Christian art throughout the late-antique Mediterranean.[8] The Hellenistic or Roman bucolic shepherd becomes the Christian Good Shepherd in third- and fourth-century Christian catacombs and on

[7] Cf. Mohamed Yacoub, *Splendeurs des mosaïques de Tunisie* (Tunis: Éditions de l'Agence Nationale du Patrimoine, 1995), 149–168; Michèle Blanchard-Lemée, "The Sea: Fish, Ships, and Gods," in *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia*, trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (New York: George Braziller, 1996), 121–145; Paul-Albert Février, "La maison et la mer, réalité et imaginaire," in *La Méditerranée de Paul-Albert Février*, Publications de l'École française de Rome 225 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996), 879–897; Taher Ghalia, "Landscapes and Scenes of Daily Life in Pavement Mosaics from Ancient Tunisia," in *Stories in Stone: Conserving Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Masterpieces from the National Museums of Tunisia*, ed. Aïcha Ben Abed (Los Angeles; Tunis: J. Paul Getty Museum; Institut national du patrimoine, 2006), 31–45; and Leïla Ladjimi Sebaï, "Beliefs, Gods, and Myths," in *Stories in Stone*, 47–60.

[8] Cf. Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer, 1958); André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins*, A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 10, trans. Terry Grabar (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977); Grabar, *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne : Antiquité et Moyen Âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979); Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979); Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire, AD 100–450* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000); Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, revised ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Jeffrey Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven; Fort Worth: Yale University Press in association with the Kimbell Art Museum, 2007).

sarcophagi. Clement of Alexandria's famous endorsement of the appropriate iconography for Christians to wear on their signet rings shows just how easy it was for the burgeoning Christian community to stake its claim on an already established iconography and avoid calling attention to itself.[9] And it has become a trope in the study of Early Christian art that the iconography of Greco-Roman deities, mythological narratives, emperors, and renowned philosophers formed much of the basis for early depictions of Christ and the apostles or for illustrating biblical episodes, such as Jonah resting under the pergola and the sleep of Endymion, or King David playing his lyre and Orpheus playing before the animals.

The marine motifs of Roman Africa were subject to the same level of appropriation and adaptation in Early Christian worship space. Nilotic vignettes in fresco on the walls or in mosaic on the floors of Roman houses could signal to the viewer the extent of Roman *imperium*, with Egypt, a former Mediterranean superpower, now a vassal province under Roman authority. Abundant seascapes displayed on the floor testified not only to the wealth of the region or the owner of the house who could procure delicacies of fish, squid, octopus, sea urchins, lobsters, crabs, or eels for his guests, but they also played visually with the confines of the architectural space, providing a carpet of rippling water teeming with life just below a transparent surface. Those entering the space were made to walk on water, standing, as it were, on the waves of the Mediterranean Sea itself, on its shores gazing below the surface of the water, or even dwelling alongside the sea creatures within its

[9] Clement of Alexandria praises images of doves, fish, sailing ships, musical lyres, ships' anchors, and fishermen as appropriate images for Christians to embrace, whereas images suggesting idolatry, violence, or illicit sexuality are expressly condemned. Cf. *Paedagogus*, 3.59.2. See also G. W. Butterworth, "Clement of Alexandria and Art," *Journal of Theological Studies* 17, no. 1 (1915): 68–76; Finney, "Images on Finger Rings and Early Christian Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 181–186; and James A. Francis, "Clement of Alexandria on Signet Rings: Reading an Image at the Dawn of Christian Art," *Classical Philology* 98, no. 2 (2003): 179–183.

depths.[10] As Rebecca Molholt notes, these seemingly contradictory views of both above and within the water were part and parcel of the viewer's experience of marine mosaics and the manipulation of vision that occurred in scenes that intentionally defied singular perspective. In reality, of course, the mosaic pavements were constructed of colored stone and glass tesserae that were rigid, inflexible, and bore no material likeness to the watery surfaces they imitated.

This was precisely the appeal of employing stone to illustrate or evoke water: It was a manipulation of matter and materiality, a form of visual play that could entertain, stimulate intellectually, or even deceive the viewers who occupied the space.[11] To present solid surfaces as liquid or vice versa was to practice a "visual alchemy" of sorts, and in spaces designed to accommodate water, such as baptisteries, the seemingly mutable substances of stone, glass, and water helped sustain the illusion of seas and landscapes, rivers, streams, and oceans, and of paradise itself, expressed—and perhaps also believed to have been contained—within the materiality of the spatial design. As Clement of Alexandria once noted of fruit viewed through the translucent surface of water or figures through a veil, light refraction manipulated the sesnes of the viewer, making objects appear larger than they really were.[12] Christian designers—presumably the clergy in charge of the ecclesiastical and baptismal spaces of the community—were quick to exploit the physics of light and water, optics and sensory experience, when designing baptisteries. By juxtaposing real water—under whose surface appeared mosaics of fish and other sea life or emblems of the Christian faith—with pictorial representations of water surrounding

[10] Rebecca Molholt, "On Stepping Stones: The Historical Experience of Roman Mosaics," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 2008), 163ff.
[11] On the use of stone to imitate water, see especially Fabio Barry, "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 627–656; and idem, "Painting in Stone: The Symbolism of Colored Marbles in the Visual Arts and Literature from Antiquity until the Enlightenment," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 2011).
[12] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 5.9.

the font or even evoked as vibratory movement through geometrical patterns, designers of baptismal space could enliven and enhance the spectacle of ritual space, making the elements of paradise appear alive and interactive. This Early Christian appropriation of the Hellenistic and Roman penchant for visual play in acquatic surfaces or the creation of surfaces intended to evoke water without actually representing it was part of a larger trend in Early Christianity to explore the nature and limits of vision. For epiphany to occur, or for paradise to be experienced, catechumens were required to undergo a transformation of vision. What better way to initiate that transformation than to create spaces that constantly challenged the normal patterns of seeing and believing?

The iconography of fish and sea life, of course, was equally an instrument of theological discourse inside the baptistery. As mentioned in the previous chapter, baptistery pavements, such as the threshold mosaic at Henchir Sokrine, near Leptis Minor (Lamta, fig. 3.48), and the baptistery of Basilica 1 at Bulla Regia (fig. 3.63), both in Tunisia, often paired images of fish with birds and land animals such as deer to represent the harmony of creation, a totality of land, sea, and sky within the baptistery that showed all of creation as part of a newly redeemed paradise. Images of underwater sea life, with fish swimming freely or occasionally being caught by fishermen, were also commonly used as symbols of Christian souls, although the waters that the fish inhabited were variously interpreted as the natural safe haven of the Christian community and the seas of sin out of which they needed to be saved.[13] As stand-alone signifiers for the souls of Christian believers, and more specifically within the baptistery, the typically neutral Roman iconography of fish was easily appropriated as an anology for catechumens, who were, as Christ notes in Mt. 4.19

[13] Cf. Lois Drewer, "Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters," *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 533–547.

and Mk. 1.17, part of the ongoing lineage of "fish" who were first rescued by the Apostles. In at least one Early Christian example—the sixth- or early-seventh century baptismal font at Hammam Lif (ancient Naro or Aquae Persianae) in Tunisia (fig. 4.51), now lost, unfortunately—the entrance into the font was demarcated by a single fish, which was also on the same viewing axis as the *crux gemmata* and *chi-rho* monogram at the bottom of the font. Like so many seemingly banal and ideologically neutral images from the repertoire of Late Roman art, fish and marine iconography had the potential to communicate Christian theology and doctrine in powerful ways that would come to define the visual presence of Christianity in the Late Roman Empire.

*Swimming with the Gods: Divine Performativity in Neptune's Seas*

As discussed in the previous chapter, the design and ideology of the Roman bath and nymphaeum served as a fount of inspiration for Early Christian communities creating baptismal spaces and establishing their own versions of the *hortus conclusus* trope or *paradeisos*/garden motif. However, it was not only the framing of a terrestrial paradise and the pleasures that paradise offered that were shared by baths, nymphaea, and baptisteries. Baths and nymphaea in Roman culture were spaces of opportunity for human agents to become aware of divine presence, if not commune with certain deities through an imagined epiphanic encounter.[14] True epiphany, as a religious

[14] On the role of epiphany and the activation of ritualized space for experiencing the divine in the ancient world, see especially Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford, eds., *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Verity Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and John R. Clarke, "Constructing the Spaces of Epiphany in Ancient Greek and Roman Visual Culture," in *Text, Image and Christians in a Graeco-Roman World*, eds. Aliou Cissé Niang and Carolyn Osiek (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 257–279. On the origins of Christian epiphany specifically, see Elpidius Pax, *'Επιφάνεια. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur bliblischen Theologie* (Munich: K. Zink, 1955); F. E. Brenk, "Greek Epiphanies and Paul on the Road to Damaskos," in *The Notion of "Religion" in Comparative Research: Selected Proceedings of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome, 3rd–8th September, 1990*, ed. Ugo Bianchi (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider,

encounter between a human agent and a divine presence, can hardly be applied to the Roman baths, which Seneca the Younger, writing in the first century CE, once described as spaces filled with shrill noises and endless, annoying distractions.[15] Nevertheless, statues of the gods, such as those that constitute the Farnese collection in Naples that once stood in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome (figs. 4.1), or representations of the gods on mosaic pavements or wall frescoes, such as the masterpiece Oceanus mosaic fragment from the baths at Themetra (Chott Meriem) near Sousse, Tunisia (fig. 4.2), kept the Greco-Roman pantheon always in the background of an otherwise nonreligious space. The god Poseidon/Neptune and his consort Amphitrite; the goddess Aphrodite/Venus and her birth from the sea; Oceanus and other personifications of seas, rivers, and springs; Nereids and Naiads; Tritons; myriad mythological sea creatures, such as hippocamps and ichthyocentaurs; and an entire underwater world of fish, octopodes, and crustaceons were accessible to the imaginative Roman enjoying the pleasures of the bath or nymphaeum. These aquatic spaces in Roman life were as much about humans interacting with other humans as they were for the imagined playful interactions between humans and gods.

Bathers could not escape the ever-watchful eyes of the gods, even as they bathed. Baths, as well as nymphaea and *piscinae* (fish ponds) were certainly not cult spaces in the same way that temples, sanctuaries, or shrines were in Roman religious life. Nymphs were often associated with the spirit of nature itself, capable of animating it and endowing it with life, and many were affiliated with springs and flowing water.[16] Although nymphaea may have been dedicated in principle to the

1994), 415–424; and Margaret M. Mitchell, "Epiphanic Evolutions in Earliest Christianity," *Illinois Classical Studies* 29 (2004): 183–204.

[15] Seneca the Younger, *Epistola* 56.1–2.

[16] On the origins of the association of Nymphs with nature—and more specifically water—see especially Jennifer Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Nymphs and their watery domain, the spaces lacked altars or other necessary accoutrements that one would expect of a cult space. The same can be said of baths. As Fikret Yegül has noted, however, even within bath houses—which were secular spaces—dedications, sculpture, or other images of divine figures reminded bathers of the health benefits of the waters through their divine patronage.[17] Statues of Asclepius or Hygieia signaled divine blessings of cleanliness and sanitation through the salvific waters. Images of Neptune and Amphitrite or the fecundity of sea life were visual reminders that the waters of the baths were ultimately under their jurisdiction. This, of course, was a type of visual play. By the second century CE, it had become common in Roman baths to install pavement mosaics depicting Neptune and his cortège of Tritons, Nereids riding hippocamps, Oceanus, or Cupids riding dolphins within a sea teeming with fish and other aquatic life forms (figs. 4.3–4.5, 4.8–4.15, 4.17). To tread upon the mosaics was to frolic among the gods in their watery world. As if to encourage this level of imagined interaction with the gods and creatures of the sea, some Roman bath mosaics included human swimmers among Neptune's entourage, such as in Room 4 of the Baths of Neptune, *frigidarium* C of the Baths of the Cisiarii, or in the Bath of the Swimmer at Ostia Antica (figs. 4.3, 4.5–4.6).

Unlike Early Christians, who seemed to have objected to the representation of Christ on pavements that viewers would have walked upon, Romans encouraged the display of their gods and goddesses on the floor. This brought divinity to the level of tactility and personal engagement, even if the notion of divinity was perceived somewhat whimsically in the baths. After all, it is hard to imagine even the most

[17] Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York; Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation; MIT Press, 1992), 124–125. The terms "secular" and "religious" are problematic for any ancient building since those categories bear a greater resemblance to modern sensibilities than premodern delineations of religious and nonreligious space. Romans, especially, had no qualms combining civic and religious imagery, and neither did the Christian communities that followed them. However, for the purposes of this study, "secular" will be used on occasion to distinguish a space as having a decidedly nonreligious function compared with dedicated spaces for religious worship.

devout Roman viewing Neptune in a bath mosaic as a cult image. Instead, it created ambient presence for the divine and reminded viewers of the pleasures of the sea that could be harnessed, to a certain degree, within a manufactured space. This would become a critical element in the construction of baptismal space for Early Christian communities across the Mediterranean. Occupying a paradisiacal space in the baptistery, one stood in the presence of God in the Garden of Eden or heaven itself. The space, and in particular its iconographical motifs, effectively primed the catechumen for an encounter with the divine by displaying a fictive location that the viewer readily understood as the dominion of God. This form of "visual literacy" seems obvious for most iconographical traditions, Christian or otherwise, but in the Early Christian baptistery, it was crucial to develop a sense of place, an imagined geography of either the origins of paradise, the Garden of Eden, or the ultimate fulfillment of paradise, the eschatological heaven.

The gods and other supernatural entities were not the only performative agents within Roman aquatic structures. The mosaics bearing their images frequently were designed to manipulate the movement of the viewer across the floor, often in a rotational, circumambient fashion. Figures in the mosaic compositions are arranged in a seemingly chaotic range of positions that defy a singular point of view and require the viewer to walk around the mosaic, turning frequently to see the characters from their proper, frontal positions. As both John R. Clarke and Rebecca Molholt have argued, this "kinesthetic address" in Roman mosaics has a certain agency over viewers, manipulating their experience of the space by controlling their vision.[18] This kinesthetic dynamic can be seen in numerous first- and second-century CE baths with

[18] John R. Clarke, *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics* (New York: New York University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1979), 19ff.; Molholt, "On Stepping Stones," especially chapters 3–4; idem, "Monsters in the Baths of Roman North Africa," lecture, Philological Society, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, March 23, 2010; and idem, "Roman Labyrinth Mosaics and the Experience of Motion," *Art Bulletin* 93, no. 3 (2011): 287–303.

monochromatic black-and-white mosaic pavements of sea creatures that are presented from myriad angles in an underwater world, as if to disorient viewers and remind them that they have no substantive control over the seas and oceans.

Nearly all of the public bath complexes at Ostia Antica employ this compositional strategy, including the Baths of Neptune (*Terme di Nettuno*), the Coachmen (*Cisiarii*), the Seven Sages (*Sette Sapienti*), Buticosus, the Lighthouse (*Faro*), the Swimmer (*Nuotatore*), the Jealous One (*Invidioso*), Musiciolus, Porta Marina, Maritime (*Marittime*), and the Trajanic baths of the so-called *Basilica Cristiana* (figs. 4.3, 4.5–4.11). They not only defy a singular perspective as the mythological figures, humans, and sea creatures are shown in seemingly random, asymmetrical, and/or unchoreographed motility, but also their curvilinear bodies evoke a natural sense of circular, flowing movement, especially with the coiled and swirling tails of Tritons, hippocamps, and sea-horses, the tentacles of octopodes, or the undulating bodies of fish and human swimmers. In the case of the mosaic pavement inside the so-called Round Hall 7 in the Baths of the Seven Sages (fig. 4.7–4.8), rotational, circumambient movement is encouraged by the dense composition of plant tendrils encircling hunters, pack animals, and both predators and their prey. In the Marittime Baths and the Baths of the Coachmen (figs. 4.11, 4.5), central motifs, such as the head of Oceanus or a stylized depiction of the city of Ostia itself anchor the composition and establish the axis around which all other figures appear to rotate. A modification to the theme of Neptune presiding over his domain once appeared in the *frigidarium* of the Baths of Trajan at ancient Acholla, Tunisia (figs. 4.12–4.13, modern Henchir Botria). Here the Triumph of Dionysus, as he is pulled in a chariot by two centaurs, replaces the more typical iconography of Neptune in the center of the composition, around which Nereids and Tritons riding sea creatures appear to

rotate counterclockwise on the *frigidarium* pavement.[19] Gilbert-Charles Picard called this motif a "marine *thiasos*," and rightly so since the presence of Dionysus in a marine mosaic must have signaled to the viewer that the hedonistic pleasures associated with the dionysiac *thiasos* could be applied equally or were akin to the pleasures of the baths and the sea, effecting, perhaps, a sense of ecstasy and revelry.[20] The Great Baths at Thyna (Thina), Tunisia (figs. 4.14–4.15), also featured a *frigidarium* mosaic designed rotationally as a circular pavement filled with fisherman in boats and a seascape teeming with life, as well as numerous mythological scenes involving the sea, including Ulysses and the Sirens, Hero and Leander, Selene and Endymion, Perseus and Danaë and Perseus and Andromeda, Europa and the bull, Scylla, and, at the center of the composition, the Greek citharist and poet Arion riding a dolphin.[21] Although Arion, as the centerpiece, commands a certain frontal orientation from viewers, the other figures and vignettes depicted prompt an ever-changing directionality for viewers to grasp the assortment of narratives occupying the space below their feet.

This arrangement of aquatic motifs enabled the compositions to assert some level of control over occupants of the space who intended to view the mosaics from

---

[19] Cf. Gilbert-Charles Picard, "Acholla," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 91 (1947): 557–562; idem, "Dionysos victorieux sur une mosaïque d'Acholla," *Mélanges Charles Picard (Revue archéologique)* 2 (1949): 810–821; idem, "Les mosaïques d'Acholla," *Études d'archéologie classique* 2 (1959): 75–95; idem, "Les thermes du Thiase marin à Acholla," *Antiquités africaines* 2 (1968): 95–151; idem, "De la Maison d'Or de Néron aux thermes d'Acholla. Étude sur les grotesques dans la mosaïque romaine," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 63 (1980): 63–104; Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, "The Triumph of Dionysus on Mosaics in North Africa," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 39 (1971): 52–65; and idem, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 181–182. Although the marine *thiasos* mosaic from the baths of Sidi Ghrib, Tunisia, lacks an overt representation of Dionysus, nevertheless the composition has been recognized as a direct descendent of the iconography of dionysiac ecstasy. See Abdelmagid Ennabli, "Les thermes du thiase marin de Sidi Ghrib (Tunisie)," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 68, no. 1 (1986): 1–59.

[20] Cf. Picard, "Les thermes du Thiase marin à Acholla," 75–95.

[21] Cf. Jean Thirion, "Un ensemble thermal avec mosaïques à Thina (Tunisie)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 69 (1957): 207–245. On the mythological scenes of the Thyna bath mosaic as images of theatrical reenactments, see Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, 133–134.

their own, logical vantage point, forcing them to meander across the pavement. Undoubtedly, few Roman bathers would have bothered to wander around the floors to examine the mosaic motifs in detail. They almost certainly took the motifs for granted as standard bath complex iconography, or if they did take notice, then they likely attributed them to a fanciful association between the beneficent waters of the bath and the rich and fertile waters of the Mediterranean or Adriatic Seas that surrounded them. However, the profusion of Neptune imagery was likely also intended to remind viewers that they were, in fact, subject to the authority of Neptune himself. This, combined with the constantly shifting angles of the sea creatures depicted in the mosaics, may have signaled to Roman bathers that their power and authority over the natural world was limited, and therefore they had to engage with the divine and its territory on wholly different terms. More importantly, however, this aquatic world revealed below their feet and filled with divine, supernatural presence, was a form of paradise. Associating the pleasures of the baths—and of water and the sea in general—the Roman marine mosaic provided the viewer with a glimpse of a beneficent seascape. It was there that human and divine agency were shown interacting harmoniously, and the iconography of Neptune's realm served as a template for understanding the blessings of water and reinforced the divine-human hierarchy within Greco-Roman cosmology.

*Paradise Underwater: Marine Iconography in North African Baptisteries*

Baths were also spaces where real and represented water became inextricably connected to each other in a form of visual and tactile play; where bathers entering pools could imagine themselves swimming among and even touching the fish and other sea life as mosaic tesserae assumed the haptic sensation of real fish scales or the hardened shells of crustaceons, stimulating the imagination and transforming the

mundane waters of the bath into the more exotic waters of the sea or ocean. Indeed, mosaics and marble revetment became the preferred decorative material for late-antique aquatic infrastructure over sculpted and painted stucco, which adorned the walls of first-century BCE and first-century CE Roman baths. This decision was partly utilitarian. Mosaic tesserae and their mortar beds provided not only waterproof but also textured surfaces that were safer to walk on, for they helped prevent slipping when the surfaces were wet. However, iconographical and stylistic trends in decoration for baths constructed or renovated between the second to fourth centuries reflect a new aesthetic. Designers and workshops were no longer concerned with the realism that defined the so-called Second Pompeian Style of rendering garden landscapes and bucolic scenes with illusionistic depth and naturalism in fresco.[22] A preference for abstraction had emerged, not only in how individual figures could be displayed within compositions, but also in how subjects for compositions could be conceived as a whole. The trope of the idyllic garden was reduced to its most recognizable emblems: a songbird or peacock; a tree, shrub, or flowers divorced from a more programmatic landscape design; sheep or deer grazing; or fountains or streams that offered the viewer no context for a location or setting other than the most generic of pastoral landscapes. This was equally true for marine seascapes. A single fish or stylized composition of fish could stand in for the broader associations of an underwater world, perhaps even evoking the same sensory responses of experiencing the sea within the baths that more illusionistic and naturalistic examples afforded.

Some bath mosaics used this abstracted form of aquatic life to good effect, surrounding and immersing the bather in a simple seascape, more suggestive than

[22] The four principal painting styles and their respective chronologies at Pompeii were developed by August Mau in the late-nineteenth century. Although scholars have modified his categories over the last century, they have nevertheless maintained the basic structure and methodology that Mau originally envisioned. Cf. August Mau, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1882).

representational, with the water rendered as wavy chevrons in multi-colored tesserae that imitate the movement of waves, which in turn would have simulated the subtle rippling movement of the actual water within the bath. This can be seen in several spaces within the Baths of the Fishing Erotes (fig. 4.16–4.19) at Uthina (Oudna), Tunisia,[23] where scenes of cherubs in boats fishing or an assortment of mythological creatures in a marine *thiasos* frame the architecture of the basins and become the equivalent of bucolic vignettes that idealize the sea as a fertile paradise. Other, more naturalistic examples, such as the small *balnea* dedicated to a group of hunters at Bulla Regia (modern Hammam Darradji, fig. 4.20),[24] the so-called Larger Southern Baths at Sbeïtla (fig. 4.21), or, outside of Africa Proconsularis, the *frigidarium* of the baths at Milreu in Portugal (fig. 4.22),[25] resemble in both iconography and architectural form actual *piscinae* that would have held fish.

The template for dwelling within the sea in the midst of a divine *thiasos* or epiphany and the use of aquatic imagery as part of a paradisiacal cosmology was one of the major components in the development of North African baptismal space. Returning to the late-fourth century baptistery at Djémila, Algeria (fig. 4.23), one of the architectural case studies of chapter 1, the mosaic pavement surrounding the central baptismal font (figs. 4.24–4.25) is filled with one of the most diverse

[23] For gound plans and a discussion of the entire house/bath complex of the Laberii at Oudna, see Paul Gauckler, "Fouilles d'Oudna, l'ancienne Uthina," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 39, no. 5 (1895): 430–432; idem, "Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 3, no. 2 (1896): 177–230; Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, 240–241; and Saïda Ben Mansour Besrour, "La mosaïque d'Europe de la maison des Laberii," *Antiquités africaines* 14 (1979): 197–211.

[24] Cf. Henri-Irénée Marrou, "Rapport sur l'activité de l'École française de Rome pendant l'année 1969–1970," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 114, no. 3 (1970): 419; Azedine Beschaouch, Roger Hanoune, and Yvon Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 28 (Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1977), 77–78; and Thébert, *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur contexte Méditerranéen*, Bibliothèque des École françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 315 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), 488.

[25] Cf. Theodor Hauschild, "Milreu. Estói (Algarve): Untersuchungen neben der Taufpiscina und Sondagen in der Villa, Kampagnen 1971 und 1979," *Madrider Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteiling Madrid* 21 (1980): 189–219; and Cátia Mourão, "Motivos aquáticos em mosaicos antigos de Portugal: Decorativismo e simbolismo," *Revista de história da arte* 6 (2008): 115–131.

depictions of sea life among extant North African pavements, including the large corpus of aquatic-themed pavements from Roman houses.[26] The baptistery mosaic shows fish, octopodes, squid, sea urchins, mollusks, shrimp, and starfish that swim in every direction, yet the circular structure of the pavement gives the impression of rotational motility around a fixed, central point, the baptismal font itself. Within the mosaic and anchoring the northern and southern sides of the baptismal font are *kantharoi* (fig. 4.26) that are immediately flanked by stylized dolphins. This motif has been modified from the more standardized image of deer or doves flanking *kantharos* fountains in paradisiacal or garden landscapes. This is further evidence that the concept of paradise had become emblematized and divorced from its original, illusionistic context, with the *kantharos* flanked by a creature (whether terrestrial, avian, or aquatic) symbolizing a paradisiacal landscape, or in the case of Djémila, an underwater seascape. More than any other individual element in the established iconography of paradise in Late Antiquity, this motif of a *kantharos* or *krater* flanked by confronted animals was the identifiable emblem of the trope, and as such, it could be sequestered on its own or placed in context of other paradisiacal motifs and still communicate to viewers that the space they inhabited was thought to be either a locus of paradise or at the very least, an evocation of a bucolic garden in the same tradition as the *hortus conclusus*. Just as the cross, abstracted from any narrative context, eventually came to symbolize the crucifixion of Christ or Christian salvation, a dove

[26] Even more than baths, nymphaea, and *piscinae* in Roman Africa, Roman houses contained the largest number of extant marine mosaics, which were a particularly common theme for the Roman elite and which highlighted the fecundity of the African coastline bordering the Mediterranean. The mosaics also likely testified to the wealth of the homeowners, who could procure seafood delicacies for their families and guests, and which explains the presence of many of these mosaics in dining *triclinia*. On the corpus of marine mosaics and their relationship to both status and geography, see especially Richard Daniel DePuma, "The Roman Fish Mosaic," Ph.D. diss. (Bryn Mawr College, 1969); Caroline Belz, "Marine Genre Mosaic Pavements of Roman North Africa," Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Los Angeles, 1978); Yacoub, *Splendeurs des mosaïques de Tunisie*, 149–168; Blanchard-Lemée, "The Sea: Fish, Ships, and Gods," 121–145; Ghalia, "Landscapes and Scenes of Daily Life in Pavement Mosaics from Ancient Tunisia," 31–45; Ladjimi Sebaï, "Beliefs, Gods, and Myths," 47–60; and Molholt, "On Stepping Stones," 93–101, 163–172, and 184–192.

with an olive branch eventually became an emblem of peace by way of the Genesis story of Noah, or the peacock and phoenix were associated with resurrection or eternal life by Early Christian communities, so too did the *kantharos/krater* motif become a stand-alone signifier of paradise.

Within the Djémila baptistery, the motif of baskets containing conical flowering shrubs (fig. 4.27) has also been appropriated from the earlier *hortus conclusus* trope of paradise and has no place in the underwater setting of the baptistery, but as an emblem of the *paradeisos*/garden, it functions as a visual cue to viewers that the space surrounding the baptismal font, the very mosaic pavement upon which they stand, is indeed related to the same artistic tradition of the garden paradise. Instead of birds perched in trees and on fountains or pecking at the ground, the trope has been reinterpreted for a marine context, with fish and other sea life now assuming the roles once occupied by animals common to the Roman garden.

As in Early Christian baptisteries with iconography suggesting a terrestrial paradise—a renewed or prelapsarian Garden of Eden—the catechumens were remade in the image of Adam and Eve. Like the first parents of Genesis, who were given authority and dominion over the flora and fauna of the original Eden, so too were the catechumens, as imitators of God's original stewards, seen not only as the inhabitants but also the caretakers of the new Eden offered through baptism and admittance to the body of Christ.[27] For an aquatic context, such as at Djémila, the catechumens were made to dwell among the creatures of the sea, presiding over them with divinely sanctioned authority.

As these same catechumens at Djémila approached the font from the western vestibule, passing over the mosaic roundel whose inscription prepared them for

[27] Tertullian makes this explicit when he mentions humanity's dominion "over the fish of the sea" as part of the Genesis creation mandate. Cf. Tertullian, *De anima*, 27. The sentiment is repeated in chapter 33.

epiphany,[28] they stood upon the threshold of the core interior of the ritual space, which is to say that they would have appeared to be standing upon the surface of the water. Whether they processed around the font, as we know that catechumens did elsewhere in Early Christian baptisteries, such as at the Lateran in Rome or at Ambrose's church in Milan, or if they simply waited their turn to enter the baptismal waters, standing in a fixed position at the threshold between the baptistery vestibule and the font itself, the Djémila initiates nevertheless would have been forced to tread upon the marine mosaic covering the central space of the baptistery. This trope of walking on water had well-known biblical associations, with Christ and St. Peter walking upon the Sea of Galilee (Mt. 14.22–36; Mk. 6.45–56; and Jn. 6.16–24), a scene that appears in fresco on the wall of the earliest extant baptistery at Dura Europos (fig. 4.28), as well as in the mosaic cupola at San Giovanni in fonte in Naples (fig. 4.29); and it is referenced in the mosaic inscription of the southwestern niche of the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna (fig. 4.30).[29] This afforded catechumens a level of mimesis, either as the Apostle Peter reaching out for Christ and being offered salvation upon the waters, or as Christ himself, adopting, as it were, the faith that Peter lacked and exercising authority through faith over the natural world, a theme addressed by Jesus elsewhere in the Gospels (Mt. 10.1–42, 17.20, and 21.21–22; Mk. 11.23–24; and Lk. 9.1–6 and 10.1–23) and reiterated by the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. 13.2).

The fictive water upon which the catechumens stood at Djémila was matched

[28] On this inscription, see the discussion in chapter 1. The inscription, which reads, "Accedite ad deum et inluminamini," or "Draw near to God and be illuminated," is a paraphrase of Ps. 33.6 [5] of the Vetus Latina translation of the Hebrew Bible. On its reconstruction, see Henri Grégoire, "Les baptistères de Cuicul et de Doura," *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 589–590.

[29] The mosaic inscription at Ravenna reads, "IH[E]S[VS] AMBVLA[N]S SVPER MARE PETRO MERGENTI MANVM CAPIT ET IVBENTE DOM[I]NO VENTVS CESSAVIT," ("Jesus, walking on the sea, takes the hand of the sinking Peter, and from the Lord commanding, the wind stopped)," which is a paraphrase of Mt. 14.29. Cf. Spiro K. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 18 (New York: Yale University Press, 1965), 59; and Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 95.

by a secondary representation of water within the baptismal font, which, of course, was full of actual water as well (fig. 4.31–4.32). At the bottom of the font appears a mosaic with eight fish. Four red fish swim counterclockwise around a central medallion with a red emblem that is either a fylfot (swastika) cross or a *chi-rho* monogram that marks the cardinal directions of the interior space (fig. 4.33). This centralized emblem is consistent with other swastikas represented in the geometric mosaic pavements of the two internal ambulatories (fig. 4.34), intended, almost certainly, as symbols of good fortune and blessing or used as apotropaic emblems to combat the influence of the devil prior to baptism. Swastikas as gestures of blessing were common to both Roman and Early Christian interior decoration. They appear prominently, for instance, along the mosaic border of the fifth-century baptistery in the Plaošnik, adjacent to the Monastery of St. Clement of Ohrid in Ohrid, Macedonia (fig. 4.35).

Four additional blue fish are interspersed diagonally in the Djémila font (fig. 4.30), their mouths nearly touching the outer rim of the *chi-rho* emblem, as though drawn to it or perhaps holding it in place, much as angels were displayed as framing devices for holding clipeate busts of Christ, the *agnus dei*, or the *chi-rho* monogram inside Early Christian churches (fig. 4.36). The baptismal initiates would have stood upon the Djémila *chi-rho*/cross, feeling through the sense of touch the material form of Christ's own insignia, which marked them symbolically as the property of God, saved through the waters of baptism. And as they dwelt among the fish of the christological emblem, they were, perhaps, reminded by the bishop or priest presiding over the ceremony of the catechumens' relationship to Christ, being the "little fish" to Christ as the "great ἰχθύς," a trope made popular by Tertullian of Carthage at the end of the second or beginning of the third century, when he wrote in his treatise *De*

*baptismo*, "But we, the little fish, follwing our great fish Jesus Christ, are born in water, and in no other way are we saved except by remaining in water."[30] Elsewhere, Tertullian saw in the image of the fish the newly baptized Christian.[31] Tertullian's contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, also used the analogy of fish to describe the souls of the faithful.[32] And in the fourth and fifth centuries, Ambrose and Jerome continued the trope. Ambrose encouraged his catechumens to remain steadfast and safe in the water as fish, incapable of being submerged or drowned by the sins of the world.[33] Jerome also likened catechumens to fish, but the waters they occupied were treacherous, and the soul's salvation was through God the fisherman, who pulled them from the seas of sin.[34]

The latter part of Tertullian's iconic statement from *De baptismo* would, in fact, have been complemented by the mosaic inscription that lined the interior of the Djémila font (fig. 4.31). On the eastern side of the font, just beyond the square border with the christogram and fish, there appear tesserae fragments for the word "[T]EMPVS." Turning the corner, along the southern side, appears "ERIT OMNES IN," and along the northern side is the word "FONTE." Based on the spacing of the missing tesserae, there are likely at least two words missing from the inscription. Albert Ballu first reconstructed them as "GENTES" and "LAVARI," making the sentence either "Gentes tempus erit omnes in fonte lavari" or possibly "Tempus erit gentes omnes in fonte lavari" ("There will be a time for all people to be washed in the font [or spring]").[35] There is no inscription on the western side of the font's interior,

[30] Tertullian, *De baptismo*, 1.3: "Sed nos pisciculi secundum *ἰχθύν* nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salui sumus." In *Qvinti Septimi Florentis Tertvlliani Opera, Pars I*, CCSL 1, ed. J. G. Ph. Borleffs (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 277.
[31] Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, 52.
[32] Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 3.12.
[33] Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, 3.3.
[34] Jerome, *Homiliae*, 92.
[35] Albert Ballu, *Guide illustré de Djemila (antique Cuicul)* (Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1926), 30; see also Yvonne Allais, *Djémila* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres," 1938), 59–60.

which convinced Ballu that it was further evidence that catechumens entered the font from the western side and exited on the east. This orientation was both symbolic and functional. Catechumens faced west when renouncing Satan and acknowledged their former, sinful nature; and the eastern direction was associated with Christ, paradise, and the adoption of a new, spiritual nature within the Church. At Djémila, however, the eastern side of the baptistery was connected to the fourth-century basilica, thereby delineating the likely route and approach toward the high altar for catechumens receiving their first Eucharist after baptism.

The inscription inside the font at Djémila contains a universal appeal to salvation for all of humanity, much as Tertullian argued nearly 200 years earlier in his declaration that salvation could only occur through the ritual of baptism. However, what is often overlooked is that the Djémila baptistery inscription is a paraphrase or partial appropriation of the language used in Virgil's third *Eclogue*, when the shepherd Damoetas exclaims, "Tityre, pascentis a flumine reice capellas; ipse, ubi tempus erit, omnis in fonte lavabo" ("Tityrus, turn back from the stream the grazing goats; when the time comes, I'll wash them all in the spring myself").[36] The Christian baptismal inscription is nearly identical to the second clause of the Virgilian *Eclogue*. It seems clear, therefore, that the original designer of the Djémila mosaic, the *concepteur*, was not only classically educated and aware of Virgil's *Eclogues*, but also he almost certainly intended the textual appropriation to allude to the bucolic, even paradisiacal landscape described in the *Eclogue*.

Many Early Christian theologians were fond of Virgil's *Eclogues*, reading into them allegorical interpretations or prophetic allusions that were relevant to the Christian community and its early legitimation among the educated elite, who had

[36] Virgil, *Eclogue* 3. Latin text and English translation in *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, Loeb Classical Library 63, eds. H. Rushton Fairclough and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 46–47.

already established a classical canon of texts that defined Greco-Roman society, and the newly introduced Jewish and Christian scriptures were not within that canon. Early Christian writers, therefore, sought opportunities to graft Christianity into the existing classical tradition; and in the case of Virgil, it was even more effective for Christian apologists to show that key elements of Christianity were already foretold by Rome's most illustrious poet. This was particularly the case with Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, which was interpreted as a messianic prophecy for Christ in the fourth and fifth centuries[37] (though the origins for this type of hermeneutic were probably much earlier) and continued well into the Middle Ages, garnering Virgil an honored position among the "virtuous pagans" of antiquity.[38] The Virgilian allusion within the

[37] The earliest-known Christological interpretation of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* can be found in Lactantius' *Divinae institutiones*, 7.24, where he credits Virgil as a prophet in the monotheistic Judeo-Christian tradition. It was perhaps through Lactantius' influence as personal tutor of Emperor Constantine's eldest son Crispus that Constantine himself was reported to have given a speech in the year 323, the *Oratio ad coetum sanctorum*, which acknowledged Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* as divinely inspired, prophesying the advent of Jesus Christ. The speech, whose authorship has been much disputed over the last century, was appended to Eusebius of Caesarea's *Vita Constantini*, the text of which was published in *Eusebius Werke*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 7, Eusebius 1, ed. Ivar A. Heikel (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), 149–192. Augustine, writing in the early-fifth century, was also fond of quoting Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, particularly in his letters—cf. *Epistolae* 104.3.11, 137.3.12, and 258.3, as well as *De civitate Dei* 10.27, and *Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio* 3. And finally, Jerome, in his letter to Paulinus of Nola in 394, mocks those Christians, such as Faltonia Betitia Proba, whose *Cento vergilianus de laudibus Christi* attempted to harmonize Virgil's writings with the teachings of Christ. Jerome concludes by stating that it is foolish to offer Virgil honorary status as a Christian simply because he wrote a messianic passage in *Eclogue* 4—cf. Jerome, *Epistola* 53.7.

[38] On the history of Christian interpretations of *Eclogue* 4 as a prophecy of Christ and the favorable reception of Virgil, see especially Ella Bourne, "The Messianic Prophecy in Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*," *Classical Journal* 11 (1916): 390–400; Harold Mattingly, "Virgil's Fourth Eclogue," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947): 14–19; R. G. M. Nisbet, "Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*: Easterners and Westerners," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25 (1978): 59–78; Antonie Wlosok, "Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher 'Vergilrezeption' Polemik (Lact., div. inst. 5,10) und Usurpation (Or. Const. 19–21)," in *Res humanae – res divinae: Kleine Schriften*, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften 2, Reihe 84, eds. Antonie Wlosok, Eberhard Heck, and Ernst A. Schmidt (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1990), 437–444; E. D. Floyd, "Eusebius' Greek Version of Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue*," in *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Perspectives on Translation 233, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Luise Von Flotow, and Daniel S. Russell (Ottawa; Tempe: University of Ottawa Press; Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 57–67; Mario Geymonat, "Un falso cristiano della seconda metà del IV secolo (sui tempi e le motivazioni della *Oratio Constantini ad sanctorum coetum*)," *Aevum Antiquum* 1 (2001): 349–366; H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 292–297; Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2008), 487–503; and Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 48–58.

Djémila baptistery would have accentuated the paradisiacal character of the surrounding pavement mosaics, suggesting that the aquatic environment—teeming with sea life as a corollary to a fertile garden-paradise on land—was part of a well-known bucolic tradition in which the initiates were playing the roles of shepherds or caretakers, much as Tityrus and Damoetas in *Eclogue* 3 or as Adam and Eve in the creation narrative they reenacted in baptism.

The literary allusion was also part of a carefully crafted eschatology inside the baptistery. The excerpt from *Eclogue* 3 appropriated for the Djémila inscription has a broader context in the dialogue between the shepherds Damoetas and Menalkas. The shepherd Tityrus to whom Damoetas addresses his comments is not actually a speaking character in the *Eclogue*, although he appears prominently in *Eclogue* 1 and is mentioned subsequently in *Eclogues* 5, 6, 8, and 9. In *Eclogue* 3, however, the indirect reference to Tityrus correlates with the other passages that describe him as a goat-herder, whose flock of goats has approached the stream where Damoetas' flock of sheep are presently drinking. Not wanting the flocks of sheep and goats to become entangled and intermingled, Damoetas requests that Tityrus withdraw his flock and wait his turn.

The Virgilian passage was very likely chosen for a Christian, and more specifically baptismal, context because it had the potential to be interpreted allegorically as a pagan archetype of Christ's parable of the sheep and goats in Matt. 25.31–46. The parable was a well-known biblical narrative by the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century when the Djémila baptistery was constructed, and it was commonly interpreted in both the Latin West and Greek, Coptic, and Syriac East as an eschatological prophecy, whereby the sheep (the faithful in Christ) would be separated from the goats (the unfaithful) at the *parousia*, or second coming/reutrn of

Christ.[39] Although the parable was less common as an iconographical motif in Early Christianity, nevertheless it was recorded early in the development of Christian funerary art, such as the late-third or early-fourth century sarcophagus lid from Rome, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.37; and it appears more famously at the end of Late Antiquity among the scenes from the life of Christ along the top register of the northern nave wall at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (fig. 4.38).[40] References and representations of the parable in Early Christianity were both promises of blessing for members of the Christian community who had submitted to baptism and the teachings of the Church, and a warning of condemnation to anyone living outside the faith community. In the Djémila baptistery, only catechumens and the priests, bishops, or deacons presiding over the ceremony would have seen the inscription, which was associated with a pastoral, bucolic setting that was at the same time prefigurative (as reworked pagan prophecy) and eschatological. This not only complemented the promise of illumination as initiates crossed over the vestibule inscription while approaching the font, but also became its fulfillment: a promise that the faithful in Christ would reside in paradise among the elect. The aquatic paradise teeming with sea creatures around the baptismal font was transformed into the locus of that promise.

Dwelling within a renewed Eden, even among the fish of the sea, created a

[39] See, for instance, the eschatological interpretation of the passage in John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Ioannem,* 34.3; Augustine's letter to Marcella, "Epistola LIX," 2; the Syriac *Doctrine of Addai* (or *Doctrina Addoei*) from ca. 400 CE; and the so-called "Psalm of the Vagabond" from the fourth-century CE Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book (cf. C. R. C. Allberry and Hugo Ibscher, eds., *A Manichaean Psalm-Book,* vol. 3, Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection 2 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938), 170; Manfred Heuser and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 46 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998), 85; Jason David BeDuhn, "Manichaean Asceticism," in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religions, ed. Richard Valantasis (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 122–130, at 123; and Michael Peppard, *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 109–110.

[40] On the eschatological interpretation of the mosaic, see especially Josef Engemann, "Zur Schönheit des Teufels im ravennatischen Weltgerichtsbild," in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes: miscellanea in onore di monsignor Victor Saxer*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 48, ed. Eugenio Alliata (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1992), 335–351.

certain cosmological space inside the baptistery or its adjoining basilica, since nave, presbyterium, and occasionally aisle pavements displayed the same paradisiacal motifs found in the baptistery. Carrying the emblems of paradise along the processional route of the baptistery to the high altar of the corresponding church sustained the vision of paradise from its introduction in the baptistery to its completion at the altar, where ingesting the Eucharistic elements gave catechumens the truest form of epiphany, uniting both physically and metaphysically with the body of Christ. Creating a fixed cosmology within ecclesiastical space helped maintain the illusion of paradise. This is not to confuse illusion with illusionism. The individual symbols of paradise, rendered as synecdoches or in styles that privileged abstraction over naturalism, functioned as visual cues to maintain the fiction of a new paradise ready to be experienced by those with the spiritual senses to perceive it.

Walking on water, then, as a visual play in the mosaic medium, had been around for centuries before the Christian community at Djémila installed the marine motif in one of its most sacred spaces. First- and second-century CE examples in Italy are well known, especially along the western coastline of the Tyrrhenian and Ligurian Seas that feed into the Mediterranean, such as the hyper-realistic pavements at the Houses of the Faun and Ariadne at Pompeii (fig. 4.39), or mosaics discovered at Populonia on the Piombino promontory, south of Livorno, including a fragment now in the British Museum (fig. 4.40) and the so-called shipwreck (*naufragio*) pavement in the Museo Archeologico del Territorio di Populonia (fig. 4.41).[41] By the third and

[41] Cf. P. G. P. Meyboom, "I mosaici pompeiani con figure di pesci," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 39 (1977): 49–93; idem, "A Roman Fish Mosaic from Populonia," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 52–53 (1977–1978): 209–220; and Anna Patera, "Tessere di storia: vicende e vicissitudini di un mosaico da Populonia," in *Capolavori dell'archeologia: Recuperi, Ritrovamenti, Confronti. Roma, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo dal 21 Maggio al 5 Novembre 2013*, eds. Maria Grazia Bernardini and Mario Lolli Ghetti (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2013), 299–304. On the iconographical development of this marine tradition, see especially DePuma, "The Roman Fish Mosaic"; Meyboom, *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina: Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy* (Leidon, New York: E. J. Brill, 1995),

fourth centuries in Africa Proconsularis, the trope of the aquatic floor could be found in a number of Roman houses and villas, as Richard DePuma, Caroline Belz, and Rebecca Molholt have catalogued.[42]

For an architectural environment such as a baptistery, this trope was an easy element for Christians to appropriate and ultimately incorporate into a theological program. As Early Christian theologians sought prefigurative and archetypal relationships between narratives in the Hebrew Bible and those of the New Testament, or between biblical sources and liturgical practice, any representation or use of water had the potential to conjure associations with Adam and Eve, creation, and the rivers of paradise in Genesis; Christ and Peter walking on water in the Gospels; or any number of other theological archetypes affiliated with water in Early Christian theology, such as the baptism of Christ; the cleansing of Naaman in the Jordan River; Moses and the Israelites crossing the Red Sea; Moses striking the rock in the desert and bringing forth water for the Israelites; or the New Testament apocryphal narrative of the miracle of Peter, who also struck a rock and brought forth water in his jail cell in Rome, which he then used to baptize the jailers. The simulation of water or the visual play between real and fictive water in baptismal space was also a key element in manipulating the human senses of the catechumens and priming them to be transformed into spiritual perception, making the return to paradise more than a theological concept but, rather, an intersection of imagination

---

especially Appendix 18, "Pompeian and Related Fish Mosaics," 173–176; Ruth Westgate, "*Pavimenta atque emblemata vermiculata*: Regional Styles in Hellenistic Mosaic and the First Mosaics at Pompeii," *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, no. 2 (2000): 255–275; and Annalisa Marzano, *Harvesting the Sea: The Exploitation of Marine Resources in the Roman Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 21ff.

[42] DePuma, "The Roman Fish Mosaic"; Belz, "Marine Genre Mosaic Pavements of Roman North Africa"; and Molholt, "On Stepping Stones," 93–101, 163–172, and 184–192. In many of the marine mosaics of Roman Tunisia, however, the motif is modified into broad fishing scenes from a bird's-eye view or as baskets of fish spilling across the floor, which, of course, is not an underwater perspective but nevertheless is designed to create the illusion of standing upon a wet floor with actual fish, often in rooms where fish would have been served for meals.

and epiphany that allowed them to see and experience the divine. Two very different but related visual strategies were employed in a number of North African baptisteries to "disrupt" the normal process of the carnal senses and make catechumens more aware of the sensorial possibilities for detecting the divine in ritual space. Through various forms of direct imitation or the suggestion of material transformation, North African baptismal fonts often reinforced a mimetic relationship between what was seen with the eyes of the flesh and the potentiality of what could be seen with the eyes of faith—the carnal imitating the spiritual, which was a common Neoplatonic trope in Early Christian theology. At the same time, the baptismal spaces facilitated a sensorial, and indeed synaesthetic, experience of paradise. The first form of visual manipulation involves an architectural phenomenon that is almost exclusively found in the cities of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia from approximately the late-fifth through the mid-sixth century: the rise of the polylobed baptismal font and the materiality of its stone covering when used to imitate different material forms.[43] The second form of sensory manipulation involves a similar type of mimesis and materiality in the use of imitation marble in baptisteries and their corresponding basilicas. Each visual strategy will be examined in its own section.

[43] Although trilobe or quadrilobe/cruciform font designs exist outside of Africa Proconsularis, none of them seems to include smooth, curvilinear edges in the same manner as the corpus of Tunisian baptismal fonts, and certainly not the same polylobed configurations. I am aware of only two examples outside of Tunisia that feature polylobed basins: the sixth- or early-seventh century font at Thibilis (Announa) in Algeria, which is no longer extant but whose polylobed design is visible in a black-and-white photograph published by Stéphane Gsell in 1918; and the late-fifth or sixth-century baptismal font at San Pedro de Alcántara in Spain, not far from the Strait of Gibraltar and possibly an indication that the polylobed design was imported from North Africa. On the Announa font, see Stéphane Gsell and Charles-Albert Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa. Fouilles exécutées par le Service des Monuments Historiques de l'Algérie*, vol. 3, *Announa* (Algiers; Paris: Adolphe Jourdan; Fontemoing & C$^{ie}$, 1918), 96–97. For a relatively up-to-date bibliography on the San Pedro de Alcántara font, see Sebastian Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 27 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1998), 230–231, cat. no. 589; and Hannah Schneider, "Die Entwicklung der Taufbecken in der Spätantike," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism (Waschungen, Initiation und Taufe): Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity (Spätantike, Frühes Judentum und Frühes Christentum)*, vol. 2, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 176, eds. David Hellholm, et al. (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 1697–1719, 1863–1871.

*The Sensuality of Stone in North African Baptismal Font Designs*

The polylobed and mosaic-covered fonts in North Africa, as well as the use of *trompe-l'œil* effects and other optical manipulations in font design served to accentuate visual and haptic desire and effectively blur the boundaries between actual and fictive space in the baptistery. The visual play between materiality and sensory experience correlated with liturgical rhetoric in Late Antiquity that attempted to veil the terrestrial world inhabited by catechumens, thereby deceiving their corporeal senses and nurturing the development of spiritual modes of experiencing a celestial, transformative vision. Both the mimetic role and materiality of the baptismal font served as a metaphor for catechumens piercing the veil that separated earthly and heavenly space.

In the opening lines of *The Sensual Icon*, Bissera Pentcheva articulates the frustration that every medievalist encounters at one point or another when studying objects in museum collections. She writes, "Medieval objects were offered to the senses, their rich surfaces teasing the desire to touch, to smell, to taste, and to experience them in space. Treated as art, displayed in clinical and transparent glass cases, they lose their wider sensorial dimension and submit to our regime of the eye. The textured surfaces, flattened by the even electric lights, deflate to reveal a dead, immobile, taxidermized image."[44] Indeed, divorced from their original contexts, Early Christian and medieval religious objects were designed for liturgical or devotional use, and they were often integrated into much grander pictorial or otherwise decorative programs that delineated the frontiers of sacred space. This is certainly the case for the Early Christian baptistery, and therefore it is rather disorienting to view

[44] Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 1.

something as monumental as a baptismal font installed into the floor of a museum, such as the extraordinary and virtually unknown sixth-century font discovered at El-Gaalla, Tunisia, in 1993 (figs. 4.42–4.43).[45] More commonly known as the Békalta Baptistery—after the larger and more well-known city south of the archaeological site—the font obviously is no longer part of the basilica complex to which it was originally attached, and therefore it is now devoid of its liturgical, sacral, and sensorial context. The museum visitor experiences the font as a sterilized object, or, to use Pentcheva's words, "dead and immobile," rather than a multisensory agent that not only facilitated processional, ritualized movement, but which was imagined in Early Christian liturgies as a performative agent in its own right within the baptismal drama, such as an animated intersection of the four rivers of paradise or the salvific womb of the Mother Church.[46]

The font's design is completely unique. It consists of eight lobes along its upper rim, of which four are rounded and the other four, forming the tips of a cross, are squared, albeit with smooth rather than sharp angles. The mosaic inscription running along the outer edge of the font, beginning at the western side, is damaged but can be reconstructed easily as "[GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO] ET IN TERRA PAX [H]OMINIBVS BONE BOLVM[TATIS L]AUDAMVS T[E]...," or "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill to men," followed by "We praise you"—a reference to the angelic host in Lk. 2.14, which proclaims the birth of

[45] Cf. Erhard Schneider, "Le baptistère d'El-Gaalla," *Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes* 58, no. 175 (1995): 85–106; Nejib Ben Lazreg and Noël Duval, "Le baptistère de Békalta," in *Carthage : l'histoire, sa trace et son echo. Les Musées de la ville de Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 9 mars–2 juillet 1995* (Paris: Paris-Musées, Association française d'action artistique, Ministère des affaires étrangères, 1995), 304–307; Fathi Béjaoui, "L'architecture et le décor : état des découvertes d'époque chrétienne des dix dernières années en Tunisie," *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002): 197–211, at 203; and Schneider, "Le baptistère d'El-Gaalla (Tunisie). Lieu de réconciliation entre orthodoxes vainqueurs et ariens vaincus (VI$^{e}$ siècles après J.-C.)," *Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes* 72, no. 203 (2009): 13–54.

[46] Cf. Nathan S. Dennis, "Living Water, Living Presence: Animating Sacred Space in the Early Christian Baptistery," in *The Life-Giving Source. Water in the Hierotopy and Iconography of the Christian World*, ed. Alexei Lidov, forthcoming.

Christ.[47] The inscription reinforces the Christomimetic roles of the catechumens as they were reborn in the baptismal waters before a host of witnesses, both human and divine. Erhard Schneider has interpreted the inscription as an anti-Arian declaration at a moment of transition in Byzantine North Africa, either shortly before Emperor Justinian's forces finally expelled the Arian Vandals from the region in 534 CE or just after the reconquest. His argument, however, is tenuous. There is no evidence to suggest that a reference to the birth of Christ in a baptistery would have been understood as a subtle commentary on the divine-human nature of Christ or his co-eternality in the Christian Godhead, thereby declaring the Christian community at Békalta as orthodox rather than Arian. More likely, the biblical quote created a parallel between the divinely sanctioned birth of Christ and the catechumens' own divinely established rebirth through the waters of baptism.

The depth of the Békalta font is constructed by a series of five tiers that create an intersection of circular and rectangular shapes, perhaps indicating a sort of cosmological diagram for the unification of heaven and earth, which would be appropriate for positing a spatial link between terrestrial and celestial realities within the baptistery.[48] The cosmological hierarchy likely would have been complete with a ciborium over the font or a decorated cupola that would have symbolized the heavens above the earthly waters. Covering the Békalta font in limestone, marble, and glass mosaic tesserae—products of the earth—and then filling the font with water may also have established a corresponding earth-sea binary for the baptistery's spatial

[47] Schneider, "Le baptistère d'El-Gaalla (Tunisie), 13–54.
[48] For discussions of Early Christian cosmological models involving circular and square units, see John F. Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958): 29–57; Gerhart B. Ladner, *God, Cosmos, and Humankind: The World of Early Christian Symbolism*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), originally published as *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik: Gott, Kosmos, Mensch* (Stuttgart, Zurich: Belser, 1992); M. R. Wright, *Cosmology in Antiquity* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995); Barbara Obrist, "Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology," *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1997): 33–84; and Carl William Pearson, "Scripture as Cosmology: Natural Philosophical Debate in John Philoponus' Alexandria," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1999).

cosmology. Decorating the rim and interior of the font are geometric patterns punctuated by rinceaux and birds, scallop-shell motifs, and sparsely distributed plants as emblems of a paradisiacal landscape. And at the center of the font is a jeweled cross, from whose arms hang the Greek letters *alpha* and *omega*. This circular emblem at the base of the font is consistent with other sixth-century fonts throughout the region and is reminiscent of a seal—similar to an incised bezel of a signet ring whose imprint communicated the identity or authority of its owner. As catechumens stood with bare feet upon the mosaic seal of the cross, and as they were sealed on their foreheads with chrism during the baptismal rite, their bodies were imprinted with the authority of Christ, their new owner, marking them spiritually as members of the Christian community and protecting them apotropaically from the incursions of the devil.

The iconography of the font is characteristic of many Early Christian baptisteries throughout the Mediterranean. What is unique, however, are the font's design and the materiality of its mosaic covering. It falls within a relatively small class of mosaic-lined polylobed fonts that flourished only in Africa Proconsularis. Noël Duval has argued convincingly that the form of the polylobed font was almost certainly appropriated from earlier Roman domestic *piscinae*, baths, or fountains, which were occasionally designed with symmetrical lobes or were covered completely by mosaic tesserae, such as at Bulla Regia (figs. 4.44–4.46).[49] Indeed, because one such description has survived in the writings of St. Augustine, we can actually imagine Early Christian audiences in front of these architectural forms. In a

[49] Noël Duval, "Les baptistères d'Acholla (Tunisie) et l'origine des baptistères polylobés en Afrique du Nord," *Antiquités africaines* 15 (1980): 329–343. See also the catalogue and discussion of polylobed fonts in relation to the Kélibia Baptistery in Christian Courtois, "Sur un baptistère découvert dans la region de Kélibia," *Karthago* 6 (1955): 97–126; and idem, "Baptistère découvert au Cap Bon (Tunisie)," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 100, no. 2 (1956): 138–143.

rare description of a *piscina* by a Christian observer, Augustine narrates the story of his visit to Bulla Regia in 399 CE, where he observed fish in a large *piscina*, ultimately concluding that their interaction with regular human visitors proved that they possess a form of reason and memory.[50]

Of course, the basic shapes of polylobed basins have a much older pedigree, appearing in far more angular forms at Pompeii, most visibly in the Villa of Diomedes, the House of Meleager, and the Praedia Iuliae Felicis (figs. 4.47–4.48).[51] Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, in his first-century CE agricultural treatise *De re rustica*, offers an explanation for these "lobes" or recesses in artificially constructed *piscinae*: They offered necessary shelter and shade for the fish during the heat of the day.[52] Centuries later in Africa Proconularis, where polylobed *piscinae* were still in use, presumably the lobes maintained the same utilitarian function, but also they had become largely an aesthetic trend. In Late Roman Tunisia, the shapes seem to lose their sharp angularity in favor of curvilinear surfaces. These designs also captured the imagination of mosaicists (fig. 4.49), whose geometric patterns of polylobed rosettes show a surprising degree of illusionistic depth and resemble the eight-lobed baptismal fonts that were constructed throughout the sixth century, such as the now-lost baptistery of Henchir Hakaïma (fig. 4.50).[53] Another possible archetype for the polylobed form is the Roman *mensa*, or dining table, some of which were used as *spolia* for Early Christian altars or, in the case of the baptistery at the Basilica of St.

[50] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 3.8.12.
[51] Cf. James Higginbotham, *Piscinae: Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy* (Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 24ff. and 202–207.
[52] Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *De re rustica*, 8.17.2.
[53] Cf. Courtois, "Sur un baptistère découvert dans la region de Kélibia," 111; and Duval, "Les baptistères d'Acholla (Tunisie)," 336.

Crispina in Tébessa, Algeria (figs. 4.51–4.52), a *mensa* could be used for the central roundel of the baptismal font.[54]

Sadly, many of the polylobed fonts discovered in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century have since disappeared and exist only in archival drawings or photographs that show complex octagonal, hexagonal, or quatrefoil polylobed designs that were covered in mosaic (figs. 4.50, 4.53–4.55).[55] Among those that have survived *in situ*, only the baptismal fonts from Basilica 2 at Sidi Jdidi (Roman Aradi), El-Erg near Thélepte, Chatt Menzel Yahia on the Cap Bon Peninsula, and from the Basilicas of Bellator and Vitalis at Sbeïtla (figs. 4.56–4.59) have preserved their extensive mosaic covering.[56] Others, such as Uppenna (modern Henchir Chgarnia), Acholla, and Hergla (figs. 4.60–4.61), have been stripped of their mosaic tesserae but nevertheless preserve the polylobed shape.[57] For each of these polylobed fonts, every square inch is covered

[54] Jürgen Christern, *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa. Architektur und Ornamentik einer spätantiken Bauhütte in Nordafrika* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), 51–52, plate 19f; and Duval, "Les baptistères d'Acholla (Tunisie)," 340–341.

[55] Most of the now-lost examples were compiled by Courtois in "Sur un baptistère découvert dans la region de Kélibia."

[56] For the baptistery of Basilica 2 at Sidi Jdidi, see Aïcha Ben Abed-Ben Khader, Michel Bonifay, Michel Fixot, and Sylvestre Roucole, "Les deux baptistères de Sidi Jdidi (Tunisie)," *Antiquité tardive* 11 (2003): 129–149; and Ben Abed-Ben Khader, Fixot, and Roucole, *Sidi Jdidi II. Le groupe épiscopal*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 451 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011). For El-Erg, see Fathi Bejaoui, "Recherche archéologique à Thélepte et ses environs : note sur les récentes découvertes," in *Histoire des Hautes Steppes : Antiquité – Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque de Sbeïtla, Session 2001*, ed. Fathi Bejaoui (Tunis: Institut national du patrimoine, 2003), 147–161. For Chatt Menzel Yahia, see Taher Ghalia, "Carte archéologique de Tunisie et connaissance du paysage rural antique à l'époque tardive : notes sur les monuments chrétiens de Chatt Menzel Yahia (Kélibia), Saadat Mornissa (Mateur) et Sarraguia (Gafsa)," in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. Actes du V^e^ Colloque international réuni dans le cadre du 115^e^ Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Avignon, 9–13 avril 1990* (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1992), 419–438; idem, "L'architecture religieuse en Tunisie aux Ve et VI siècles," *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002): 213–222; idem, "Mise en valeur des mosaïques chrétiennes de Tafekhsite – Chatt Menzel Yahia (région de Kélibia)," in *Les mosaïques : conserver pour présenter? [Mosaics: Conserve to Display?], VII^ème^ Conférence du Comité international pour la conservation des mosaïques, 22–28 novembre 1999, Musée de l'Arles antique – Arles et Musée archéologique de Saint-Romain-en-Gal, France*, eds. Patrick Blanc and Véronique Blanc-Bijon (Arles: Édition du Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, 2003), 387–389; and Bejaoui, "Recherche archéologique à Thélepte et ses environs," 147–161. For the two polylobed baptisteries at Sbeïtla, see Duval, *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord,* vol. 1, *Recherches archéologiques à Sbeitla, I. Les basiliques de Sbeitla à deux sanctuaires opposés (Basiliques I, II et IV)*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 218 (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1971), 99–144 and 269–291.

[57] For the baptistery of Uppenna, see Paul Gauckler, *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie (1892–1904)* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1913), 23–24; Duval, *Les églises africaines à deux absides.*

in mosaic, and hard, angular edges are dismissed in favor of curvilinear lines that seem to blend seamlessly into the surrounding mosaic pavement. The lobes of the font have both horizontal and vertical dimensions as they delineate the circumference of the upper tiers and plunge into the lowest roundel at the bottom. The multidirectional thrust of the lobed design imitates the subtle undulations of actual water that would have filled the basin, thereby accentuating the optical effect of water within or around the font and creating a simultaneously actual and fictive aquatic space occupied by the catechumens.

Once water was introduced to the surfaces of the mosaics, the tesserae would have shimmered, their colors becoming darker and more vibrant. The transformations further accentuated the reflective surface of the water inside the font. Similar strategies were used elsewhere, such as in the late-fourth or early-fifth century Donatist Baptistery at Timgad in neighboring Algeria (figs. 4.62–4.63).[58] Here the hexagonal font is completely covered by mosaic tesserae—though with straight, angled lines—and the geometric chevron pattern of the mosaics serves to animate and energize the water within the font by simulating its vibratory movement. This trope of animating water was common in Roman houses and baths, where mosaic pavements

---

*Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord*, vol. 2, *Inventaire des monuments – Interprétation* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1973), 87–106; Dominique Raynal, *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique : Uppenna I. Les fouilles 1904–1907* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005); idem, *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique : Uppenna II. Mosaïques funéraires et mémoire des martyrs* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005); and Jean-Marie Pailler, "La découverte d'une basilique paléochrétienne à Uppenna (Tunisie) en 1905. Entre recherche scientifique, fracture idéologique et justification coloniale," *Anabases* 9 (2009): 41–52. For Acholla, see Duval, "Les baptistères d'Acholla (Tunisie)." And for Hergla, see Taher Ghalia, *Hergla et les mosaïques de pavement des basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie (plan, décor et liturgie)* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1998).

[58] Cf. Albert Ballu, *Les ruines de Timgad, antique Thamugadi. Sept années de découvertes (1903–1910)* (Paris: Neurdein Frères, 1911), 40–44; Paul Monceaux, *Timgad chrétien* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, 1911), 31–32; Félix-Georges de Pachtère, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 3, *Algérie* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), 103; Christian Courtois, *Timgad, antique Thamvgadi* (Algiers, Service des antiquités, 1951), 74–75; Pasquale Testini, *Archeologia cristiana: nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI. Propedeutica, topografia cimiteriale, epigrafia, edifici di culto* (Rome: Desclée 1958), 633–634; and Suzanne Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad : étude descriptive et analytique* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969), 122–129.

mimicked the flow of water, such as in the third-century *impluvium* of the so-called House of the Stairs at Dougga (Roman Thugga, fig. 4.64), which is the same abstracted design as another pavement removed from Dougga, now in the Bardo (fig. 4.65).[59] Chevrons were, without question, the most common shape employed in the representation of moving water in marine mosaics. Nearly every marine-themed mosaic in Roman/Byzantine North Africa used them, including famous examples such as the Ulysses and the Sirens mosaic from the House of Ulysses at Dougga (fig. 4.66). Rendered as simple horizontal striations, strings of chevrons communicated movement in an aquatic environment, but as visible crests of the water, they also captured the implied coruscation when light reflected off the surface of the water as it moved in a particular direction. When stacked vertically and repeated across a larger surface area—such as on the baptismal font at Timgad—the chevron design creates the almost *trompe-l'œil* illusion of pulsating water, and its varied palette imitates the multicolored spectral effect as both direct and reflected sources of light within the baptistery interacted with the actual water within the font. These mimetic forms created a sense of visual play, a pictorial alchemy of sorts, by which a material substance was envisioned as something different, and quite often its polar opposite in terms of tactility. For Christians, this impulse toward visual manipulation was important for emphasizing the breach between material and immaterial existence within the baptismal space, whereby material forms were merely signifiers of a far greater immaterial reality.

The most famous example of this visual play is the so-called Kélibia Baptistery (figs. 4.67–4.68), paradisiacal imagery of which was discussed in the previous chapter. Like other polylobed or quatrefoil fonts, the Kélibia Baptistery is

[59] Cf. Janet Burnett Grossman and Kristin Kelly, "Introduction," in *Stories in Stone*, 4.

covered in mosaics that make a transition seamlessly into the surrounding pavement. Not only does this establish continuity between the biblical and paradisiacal motifs pictured both inside and outside the font, but it also creates the appearance of a continuous, even soft, membrane covering the entire baptismal space. The font itself, the primary focus of the space, has the appearance of something veiled. The impression is one of transfigured materiality, as though the font's mosaic tesserae are approaching something like the tactility of a textile, like an altar cloth or antependium has been draped over or affixed to the font as a gesture of consecration. This is not entirely a phenomenological interpretation of the practice, however. We know from early Syriac and Nestorian baptismal liturgies that, in some Early Christian churches, baptismal fonts were, in fact, covered by actual cloths to veil the mystical and salvific properties of the baptismal waters from catechumens until they were ready to enter the font.[60] This, of course, had symbolic valences as well, with the veil being lifted from the initiates' eyes as they moved from carnal to spiritual vision upon entering the Christian community. This was precisely the reason why Cyril of Jerusalem had his catechumens in the fourth century veil their faces with a cloth, obscuring their vision within the baptistery and forcing them to rely on their other senses until they were initiated into the Christian mysteries.[61]

The veiling of Tunisian fonts with mosaic rather than actual cloths may have preserved this nuance: It reminded catechumens of the permeable veil that separated terrestrial and celestial space within the baptistery, but its tactile qualities, experienced by the initiate descending into the font, were synaesthetic. The fonts appeared visually as smooth, soft surfaces, which were, in fact, as hard as the stone

[60] Cf. *The Order of Holy Baptism which Was Composed by Mar Isho'yahb of Kh'dayab, Catholicos and Was Later Annotated by Mar Eliya, Catholicos-Patriarch*, in E. C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson, eds., *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*. 3rd ed. revised (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 65ff.
[61] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis* 9.

adorning them. To the touch, however, they nevertheless maintained that softness through curvilinear lines, scarcely discernible mortar joints between tesserae, and the sensation of drapery folds lining the interior niches. This form of synaesthesia was fundamental to a theophanous experience in the baptistery, for the carnal senses were deemed unreliable, corrupted, and incapable of penetrating the veil of sanctity. The carnal senses could lead the initiate to the veil, but to cross it, the catechumen had to abandon carnality and adopt a spiritual vision that transcended the materiality of mundane forms.

This transfiguration of forms, or mutable materiality, may have had additional valences that were specific to the polylobed design. One of the earliest personifications of the baptismal font and its life-giving waters was that of the Mother Church's womb. The precedent was established in Jn 3.1–10, where Jesus explains to Nicodemus that anyone who desires to see the kingdom of God must be born again of water and the Spirit, and it was reinforced several generations later in Marian theology, whereby the generative power of the Virgin's womb to bring forth salvation through Christ became a prototype for understanding the salvific baptismal womb of the Mother Church.[62] From as early as the second half of the second century CE, Christian theologians had begun to associate the Church as mother (*Mater Ecclesia*). And since baptism was the principal initiation rite for entering the Church, it was a natural extension to apply the cult of *Mater Ecclesia* to the baptismal font from which

[62] For a summary of Early Christian maternal ecclesiology, see Joseph C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia: An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943); Hugo Rahner, *Mater Ecclesia: Lobpreis der Kirche aus dem ersten Jahrtausend christlicher Literatur* (Einsiedeln, 1944); Karl Delahaye, *Ecclesia Mater chez les pères des trois premiers siècles : pour un renouvellement de la pastorale d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964); Timoteo José M. Ofrasio, *The Baptismal Font: A Study of Patristic and Liturgical Texts* (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Liturgico, 1990), 80–101, 114–130; Robin Margaret Jensen, "*Mater Ecclesia* and *Fons Aeterna*: The Church and Her Womb in Ancient Christian Tradition," in *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*, eds. Amy-Jill Levine and Maria Mayo Robbins (London: T&T Clark International, 2008), 137–155; and Bradley M. Peper, "The Development of *Mater Ecclesia* in North African Ecclesiology," Ph.D. diss. (Vanderbilt University, 2011).

catechumens were thought to emerge as either newly born children or a new imprint of the first parents in the Garden of Eden.[63] The cult of the Mother Church proliferated throughout the late-antique Mediterranean, particularly in Roman Africa, where Carthage seems to have been the epicenter of maternal ecclesiology in the second and third centuries, beginning with Tertullian and Cyprian. The theology, however, would persist in the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia well into the fifth and sixth centuries, when *Mater Ecclesia*'s regenerative role was applied increasingly to salvation after death and the hope of resurrection.[64] It is in this latter context that her name appears on a fifth-century funerary mosaic for Valentia, who was interred in the so-called Chapel of the Martyrs in Tabarka, Tunisia (fig. 4.69).[65]

If Mother Church assumed her role within an Early Christian vision of the holy family, with God as father and Christ as son, then her physical presence in Christian cult was defined by means of her generative power—her womb—and at the very moment of ritual birth, which occurred within the baptismal font. As Robin Jensen has already noted, Early Christian theologians in North Africa often described in surprisingly graphic and sexual terms the font's fertility as an intimate union with the Holy Spirit.[66] In his treatise *De baptismo*, Tertullian writes that the Holy Spirit penetrates (*penetrare*) and dwells within (*insidere*) the baptismal waters, through

---

[63] Eusebius of Caesarea, writing in the early-fourth century, claims that the theological concept of the Church as Mother (or Virgin Mother, as he terms it) emerged as early as the second century with the now-lost writings of Hegesippus, which Eusebius quotes in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.32 and 4.22. And in 5.1, as he purports to cite a letter from the second century regarding the martyrdom of the saints of Lyon and Vienne, the Church again is referred to as the Virgin Mother. Irenaeus of Lyon offers similar language in his second-century *Adversus Haereses*, 3.24–25 and 5.20.

[64] For a list and analysis of the relevant texts, see Peper, "The Development of *Mater Ecclesia*."

[65] Cf. Paul Gauckler, "Mosaïques tombales d'une chapelle de martyrs à Thabraca," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 13, no. 2 (1906): 175–228; and Noël Duval, "La représentation du Palais dans l'art du Bas-Empire et haut Moyen Age d'après le Psautier d'Utrecht," *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965): 244–247. For a broader context of the corpus of Tabarka's Early Christian funerary mosaics, including the *Mater Ecclesia* dedication, see Duval, *La mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien* (Ravenna: Longo, 1976); James H. Terry, "Christian Tomb Mosaics of Late Roman, Vandalic and Byzantine Byzacena," Ph.D. diss. (University of Missouri–Columbia, 1998); and Joan Marguerite Downs, "The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town," Ph.D. diss (University of Michigan, 2007).

[66] Jensen, "*Mater Ecclesia* and *Fons Aeterna*."

which sanctification of the catechumens is conceived (*concepit*).[67] His description of the metaphysical union between the intangibility of the Holy Spirit and the materiality of the font's water is related primarily to the hierarchy of spirit over matter, since, as he describes it, the baptismal waters remain under the Spirit. Moreover, the verbs *penetrare* and *insidere* are, at face value, indicative of the Holy Spirit's divine presence within the materiality of the water, a form of interpenetration and intermingling that Tertullian relates to the primordial waters at creation, where the Spirit of God was said to have hovered over them (Gen. 1.2). Nevertheless, the passage may have been designed with certain generative, perhaps even sexual, valences in mind, especially as the chapter continues with references to genus and species. The font is described as the receiving body, with the Holy Spirit as the source of the water's generative power. The physical presence of the font within the baptistery has become, therefore, not only the central locus of the baptismal drama of rebirth, but also a principal character in the liturgy, reimagined as a receptacle endowed with the living agency of the Holy Spirit. In essence, the font is described in womblike terms as a conduit to spiritual regeneration.

Augustine, too, in his catechetical sermon 56, described prebaptismal initiates as children *in utero*, conceived from the seed of God himself and awaiting new birth from the Church's font-womb.[68] This font-womb image is made explicit in sermon

---

[67] Tertullian, *De baptismo*, 4.1: "Sed ad ea satis erit praecerpsisse — in quibus et ratio baptismi recognoscitur — prima illa, qui iam tunc etiam ipso habitu praenotabatur baptismi figurandi, spiritum qui ab initio super aquas uectabatur, super aquas instinctorem moraturum. Sanctum autem utique super sanctum ferebatur aut ab eo quod super ferebatur, id quod ferebat sanctitatem mutua|batur, quoniam subiecta quaeque materia eius quae desuper imminet qualitatem rapiat necesse est, maxime corporalis spiritalem et penetrare et insidere facilem per substantiae suae subtilitatem. Ita de sancto sanctificata natura aquarum et ipsa sanctificare concepit." In *Qvinti Septimi Florentis Tertvlliani Opera, Pars I*, 279.

[68] Augustine, "Sermo LVI: De oratione Dominica," (IV) 5: "'Vos ergo', inquit, 'DICITE: PATER NOSTER, QVI ES IN CAELIS': ubi uos, uidetis, Deum Patrem habere coepistis, sed habebitis, cum nati fueritis – quamquam et modo, antequam nascamini, illius semine concepti estis – tamquam utero ecclesiae in fonte pariendi." In *Sancti Avrelii Avgvstini: Sermones in Matthaevm I*, CCSL 41Aa, ed. P.-P. Verbraken (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 156. Similar birthing images are alluded to, but not made

119, where Augustine, imagining the catechumens standing before the font, states, "Behold, they live, but regardless of whatever age in the flesh they are, you see infants. You see and rejoice. Behold, they live, but they are born from God. The womb (*vulva*) of the Mother is the water of baptism."[69] Elsewhere, in sermon 216, he describes the birthing process of *Mater Ecclesia*, as she ushers the catechumens unto new life through her birth canal of the baptismal waters.[70]

It was not only among North African theologians, however, that the imagery of inseminating the Mother Church's womb at baptism or birthing through the aperture of the font emerged. In the fourth century, Zeno of Verona described in graphic terms the baptismal font and its attendant waters as the "milky fluid of the generative [or even "genital"] font."[71] Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona in the late-fourth century, used conception and birthing imagery when he described his initiates as children resulting from the union of Christ and the Church, having been conceived by the Holy Spirit in the Mother Church's womb, which he then identifies as the baptismal font.[72] Theodore of Mopsuestia, writing in the fifth century, offers perhaps the most bizarre exposition of the font as womb, comparing the catechumens

---

explicit for the baptismal font, in Cyprian of Carthage, *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*, 5; and Optatus of Milevis' untitled treatise against the Donatists, 2.10.

[69] Augustine, "Sermo CXIX: De eisdem verbis Joannis," 4: "Ecce sunt, in quacumque sint aetate carnis: videtis infantes: videtis et gaudete. Ecce sunt: sed ex Deo nati sunt. Vulva matris, aqua Baptismatis." In *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, vol. 38, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1845), col. 674.

[70] Augustine, "Sermo CCXII: Ad Competentes," 7.

[71] Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus*, 1.12 (*Psalmi XLI*): "Eia fratres, quos beatae sitis exoptatus ardor incendit, quos nectarei fluenti dulce murmur inuitat, lacteum genitalis fontis ad laticem conuolate incunctanter ac fortiter bibite, dum licet, superfluentis amnis undae subiecti toto impetu totaque deuotione uestra uasa replete, ut semper uobis aqua sufficiat, hoc ante omnia scientes, quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rursus haurire." In *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatvs*, CCSL 22, ed. B. Löfstedt (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 51.

[72] After describing the marriage of Christ and the Church, Pacianus writes, "Ex his nuptiis Christiana plebs nascitur, veniente desuper Spiritu Domini; nostrarumque animarum substantiae, superfuso et admixto protinus semente coelesti, visceribus matris inolescimus, alvoque ejus effusi vivificamur in Christo. Unde Apostolus: Primus Adam, in animam viventem: novissimus Adam, in spiritum vivificantem [1 Cor. 15.47]. Sic generat Christus in Ecclesia per suos sacerdotes, ut idem Apostolus: Christo autem ego vos genui [1 Cor. 4.15]. Atque ita Christi semen, id est Dei spiritus novum hominem alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum, manibus sacerdotis effundit, fide tamen pronuba." *Sermo de baptismo*, 6, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, vol. 13, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1845), col. 1093.

themselves to semen that impregnates the font and ultimately results in the initiates' own second birth through divine intervention:

> He shows in this that as in a carnal birth the womb of the mother receives the human seed, and the Divine hand fashions it according to an ancient decree, so also in baptism, the water of which becomes a womb to the one who is being born, and the grace of the Spirit fashions in it, into the second birth, the one who is being baptised, and changes him completely into a new man. And inasmuch as the seed that falls into the womb of the mother has neither life, nor soul nor feeling, but after it has been fashioned by the Divine hand, it results in a living man, endowed with soul and feeling, and in a human nature capable of all human acts, so also here the one who is baptised falls into the water as into a womb, like a seed which bears no resemblance of any kind to the mark of an immortal nature, but after he has been baptised and has received the Divine and spiritual grace, he will undoubtedly undergo a complete change: he will be fashioned from a mortal into an immortal, from a corruptible into an incorruptible, and from a mutable into an immutable, nature; and he will be changed completely into a new man according to the power of the One who fashions him.[73]

Imagining this metaphysical transformation of baptismal font to ecclesiastical womb was encouraged by the adoption of spiritual vision that allowed catechumens to see and experience the elements of baptismal space as metamorphic rather than immutable in their materiality. At least two baptistery inscriptions were recorded that address this generative agency of the Mother Church's womb. Paulinus of Nola, writing to Sulpicius Severus in 403, penned an inscription for the baptistery at Primulacum in Gallia Aquitania, which began with, "Here the font, the life-giver [*generator*] of souls needing to be repaired, brings forth living water by divine light. | The Holy Spirit descends from heaven into this river and marries the sacred waters to the heavenly font. | The water conceives God, and from the nourishing fluids gives

[73] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homiliae de baptismo*, 4.9, in *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents Edited and Translated with a Critical Apparatus 6, ed. A. Mingana (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, 1933), 54–55. See also fol. 106r of MS. Mingana Syr. 561 in *Les Homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste : reproduction phototypique du MS. Mingana Syr. 561 (Selly Oak Colleges' Library, Birmingham)*, eds. Raymond Tonneau and Robert Devreesse (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 420.

birth to a sacred progeny from an eternal seed."[74] A similar inscription emphasizing the intimate, celestial (as opposed to carnal) union between the Holy Spirit and the baptismal waters as Mother Church still appears on the lower architrave of the octagonal ciborium over the font of the Lateran baptistery in Rome, most likely commissioned by Pope Sixtus III in the 430s.[75] It begins with, "A people to be consecrated to the heavens is born here from a fertile seed, which the Spirit brings forth with waters made fruitful," and later, "By a virgin birth the Mother Church bears her offspring in this river, those whom she conceives by the breath of God."[76] Both the mystagogical catecheses and inscriptions suggest that during the rite of baptism, Early Christian catechumens, both in the Latin West and Greek and Syriac East, were encouraged to look beyond the materiality of the font and its baptismal waters and see instead the celestial, transcendent flesh of the Mother Church, whose presence within the baptistery, made animate by the Holy Spirit, enabled her to participate actively in the liturgy.

Among extant baptismal fonts throughout the Mediterranean, the unique corpus of polylobed, mosaic-covered fonts from Tunisia may have been designed, in

---

[74] Paulinus of Nola, "Epistola XXXII," 5: "Hic reparandarum generator fons animarum | Viuum diuino lumine flumen agit. | Sanctus in hunc caelo descendit spiritus amnem | Caelestique sacras fonte maritat aquas; | Concipit unda deum sanctamque liquoribus almis | Edit ab aeterno semine progeniem." In *Paolino di Nola: le lettere*, vol. 2, ed. Giovanni Santaniello (Naples: Libreria Editrice Redenzione, 1992), 232.

[75] The *Liber pontificalis*, 46.7, identifies Sixtus III as the source of the baptistery inscription, but both Franz Dölger and Paul A. Underwood have contested this attribution, suggesting instead that the inscription correlates well with the sermons of Leo I, Sixtus' archdeacon and successor as pope. See Dölger, "Die Inschrift im Baptisterium S. Giovanni in Fonte an der Lateranensischen Basilika aus der Zeit Xystus' III (432–440) und die Symbolik des Taufbrunnens bei Leo dem Großen," *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 2 (1930): 252–257; and Underwood, "The Fountain of Life and the Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950): 56–61.

[76] The full series of distichs reads, "Gens sacranda polis hic semine nascitur almo | quam fecundatis spiritus edit aquis. | Mergere, peccator sacro purgande fluento: | quem veterem accipiet, proferet unda novum. | Nulla renascentum est distantia, quos facit unum | unus fons, unus spiritus, una fides. | Virgineo fetu genetrix ecclesia natos | quos spirante deo concipit amne parit, | insons esse volens isto mundare lavacro, | seu patrio premeris crimine seu proprio. | Fons hic vitae qui totum diluit orbem, | sumens de Christi vulnere principium | caelorum regnum sperate hoc fonte renati: | non recipit felix vita semel genitos. | Nec numerus quemquam scelerum nec forma suorum | terreat: hoc natus flumine sanctus erit." Cf. Dölger, "Die Inschrift im Baptisterium," 252. See also Robin Margaret Jensen, "Inscriptions from Early Christian Baptisteries in Rome," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 24 (2011): 65–83.

part, to prompt this mystical vision of the Mother Church's womb, such as at the basilicas of Bellator and Vitalis in Sbeïtla (figs. 4.58–4.59, 4.70)[77] or the more recently discovered Békalta Baptistery (fig. 4.71). Based on the shape alone, Jensen has argued that these fonts resemble the vulva and may, in fact, reflect more literal interpretations of the font as womb in North African ecclesiology.[78] Although this interpretation would fit nicely with the literary references to the womb of *Mater Ecclesia* in baptismal liturgies—and could elucidate further our understanding of the body and sexuality in Early Christian theology—it becomes problematic when examined through architectural typologies. Noël Duval's typological analysis of the polylobed architectural design and its archaeological context in Roman Tunisia has demonstrated the origins in Roman domestic contexts in which *piscinae*, *mensae*, baths, fountains, and even decorative patterns in mosaic were constructed with similar polylobed compositions and/or were covered in mosaic tesserae.[79] *Piscinae*, baths, and fountains, in particular, would have offered a fitting aquatic archetype for baptismal font designs, both in utility—such as hydraulic infrastructure—and in ideology, where the iconography of fish and fountains or the necessity of ritual cleansing were often central to baptistery design and baptismal liturgy. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the fonts at Sbeïtla, Békalta, or other polylobed variants throughout the region, would have adopted overtly the womb as an ideological design. However, this does not preclude the possibility that the seemingly vulval shape did, on a phenomenological or even unconscious level, suggest a vaginal

[77] Cf. Duval, *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord,* vol. 1, *Recherches archéologiques à Sbeitla, I*, 99–144, 269–291.
[78] Jensen, "*Mater Ecclesia* and *Fons Aeterna*, 153. See also Walter M. Bedard, *The Symbolism of the Baptismal Font in Early Christian Thought* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951), 17–36; J. G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 21–22; Ofrasio, *The Baptismal Font*, 129–137; and Jensen, *Living Water*, 247–251.
[79] Duval, "Les baptistères d'Acholla," 329–343. For an analysis of other polylobed fonts in Early Christian Tunisia, see also Courtois, "Sur un baptistère découvert dans la région de Kélibia," 97–126.

aperture into which catechumens descended, only to be reborn spiritually from the imagined womb of the Mother Church herself. Indeed, few baptismal settings could have rivaled the sensory experience of a second birth that was simultaneously corporeal—with the catechumens' bodily presence in the ritual—and deeply metaphorical and spiritual, as the initiates transformed their carnal vision of the hard, tesserae-covered font into the pliable flesh of the Mother Church's womb. Moreover, these fonts encouraged a far richer sense of tactility, as catechumens entered the baptismal font, their naked, physical flesh in direct contact with stone tesserae that were reimagined as a form of transcendent, celestial flesh.

This shift in theology and architecture toward the multisensory—and especially the tactility of material form, including the fetishizing of the Mother Church's womb—is part of a phenomenon that emerged primarily in the fourth century as Christians reassessed the value of physical matter to contain or express divine revelation. Patricia Cox Miller calls this late-antique phenomenon the "material turn," which marked a dramatic departure from earlier Christian anxieties over objects, idolatry, and the moral corruption of the flesh.[80] Rooted in the theology of Christ's incarnation, as well as popular piety in the veneration of saints' relics, icons (images of saints' bodies) and even the living bodies of holy men and women, the material turn gave rise to a renewed fascination with the human body as a vessel and site for divine encounter. Sensory perception was the primary means of experiencing this encounter, but sensuality was a marker of liminality. As Cox Miller notes, "...the body could serve as a sign of the self in the process of being transfigured

[80] Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination*, 3ff. See also idem, "Visceral Seeing: The Holy Body in Late Ancient Christianity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12, no. 4 (2004): 391–411; and idem, "On the Edge of Self and Other: Holy Bodies in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17, no. 2 (2009): 171–193.

into its true status as image of God."[81] One approached the divine through physical perception, but true revelation required the transformation of the physical senses into spiritual insight. Always balancing on the threshold of carnal and spiritual perception, Christian initiates experienced the sacred as a reality in process. And theologians were keen to exploit this "sensory imagination" in baptismal liturgies and catecheses, where the mystical rite for entering the Church offered an early opportunity for catechumens to pass *per visibilia ad invisibilia*. Occupying these mosaic-covered spaces with naked bodies, initiates experienced haptically the coldness and coarseness of stone pavements, but cool stones and their coarse textures became warm, verdant landscapes in the imagination of catechumens beckoned to the font as the gateway to paradise. The carnal sense of touch thus opened the initiate to a spiritual vision in which the environment of paradise was imagined not only haptically, but also visually, if not also through the other senses.

*Mimesis and Materiality: Imitation-Marble Mosaics in Liturgical Space*

The second form of mimesis that became a strategy for manipulating vision within baptismal (and more broadly, ecclesiastical) space was that of imitation-marble mosaics, which, in addition to presenting a unique commentary on the materiality of stone and the mosaic medium itself, were also associated with water and installed quite often in aquatic environments. On the surface, the practice of creating mosaics to resemble larger marble slabs seems rather mundane and hardly related in any discernible way to visions of paradise within the Early Christian baptistery. However, the practice, like the optical effects of shifting materialities in mosaic-covered baptismal fonts, was one of several strategies employed in Early Christian visuality to deceive the senses, or at least prime them to be transcended as catechumens pursued a

[81] Idem, *The Corporeal Imagination*, 4.

new form of spiritual perception in communing with the divine and achieving a preliminary vision of paradise.

Painted imitations of marble revetment, paving slabs, or *opus sectile* compositions were relatively common decorative features in Roman houses and villas of the first century BCE and first century CE, even after the Pompeian First Style had largely fallen out of favor. This new type of imitation marble, painted directly onto the wall illustionistically rather than sculpted first in plaster, flourished at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which have garnered the most scholarly attention, but other regions of the empire, such as Hispania, offer a significant corpus of examples from Roman domestic spaces (figs. 4.72–4.74).[82] In Pompeii alone, Hélène Eristov counted 285 examples of imitation stone in her 1979 study of the motif.[83] More recently, scholars have turned their attention to Villa A at Oplontis (fig. 4.75) with its so-called "zebra-stripe" corridor paintings, which many have taken to be imitations of *bardiglio* marble or other prominently brecciated gray stones used as decoration elsewhere in the villa.[84] This painting phenomenon persisted well into Late Antiquity, as can be

[82] Hélène Eristov, "Corpus des faux-marbres peints à Pompéi," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 91, no. 2 (1979): 693–771. See also idem, "Un algorithme appliqué à la classification des imitations de marbre dans la peinture pompéienne," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 88, no. 2 (1976): 705–717; and J. Clayton Fant, "Real and Painted (Imitation) Marble at Pompeii," in *The World of Pompeii*, eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (New York, London: Routledge, 2007), 336–346. The practice of painting imitation marble veneer, however, was not limited to Roman Italy, although other provincial centers have been neglected, with the exception of Roman Hispania. For an overview of imitation-marble wall painting at Spanish archaeological sites, see Lorenzo Abad Casal, "Las imitaciones de 'crustae' en la pintura mural romana en España," *Archivo español de arqueología* 50–51, no. 135–138 (1977–1978): 189–208.

[83] Eristov, "Corpus des faux-marbres peints à Pompéi," 693–771.

[84] Cf. Crispin Corrado Goulet, "The 'Zebra Stripe' Design: An Investigation of Roman Wall Painting in the Periphery," *Rivisti di studi pompeiani* 12–13 (2001–2002): 53–94; Lara Laken, "Zebrapatterns in Campanian Wall Painting: A Matter of Function," *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving* 78 (2003): 167–189; Michael L. Thomas and John R. Clarke, "The Oplontis Project, 2005–2006: New Evidence for the Building History and Decorative Programs at Villa A, Torre Annunziata," in *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003–2006). Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 1–3 febbraio 2007*, ed. Maria Paola Guidobaldi (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008), 465–471; Lea K. Cline, "Imitation vs. Reality: Zebra Stripe Paintings in the Fourth Style at Oplontis," in *Antike Malerei zwischen Lokalstil und Zeitstil*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Archäologische Forschungen 23, ed. Norbert Zimmerman (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), 565–570; and idem, "Painted Pavements: Illusion and Imitation at Villa A ('of Poppaea') at Oplontis," in *Beyond Iconography: Materials,*

seen in the so-called Case Romane del Celio in Rome (fig. 4.76),[85] and it survived even beyond the classical period, as Early Christian and medieval churches became new contexts for placing imitation marble alongside actual marble revetment and column shafts spoliated from earlier Roman monuments.

By the first quarter of the second century CE, however, representing marble fictively had crossed over into a new medium, the mosaic pavement, which fundamentally changed the materiality and experience of imitation stone (fig. 4.77). It effectively blurred the lines between mimesis and original. Imitating larger, more monolithic slabs of variegated, bookmatched (fig. 4.78), or otherwise brecciated marble, mosaic tesserae were arranged in designs that mimicked the striations and patterns of larger marble slabs or *opus sectile* inlay (fig. 4.79). Quite often, these same tesserae were fragments of the exact same marble they attempted to represent pictorially, thus creating a form of visual play. A single tessera from most figural and decorative mosaics cannot function as a part for the whole since tesserae naturally fragment images even as they attempt to represent them wholly and coherently. It is the viewer's responsibility to accept the fragments not as individual signifiers with any meaning unto themselves but as elements of a larger composition, catalysts that are subsumed by the totality of a broader program. Imitation-marble mosaics, on the other hand, do function in a *pars pro toto* manner. Each tessera is a full representation of the materiality it seeks to imitate.

Only Demetrios Michaelides and Rebecca Molholt have studied the

---

*Methods, and Meaning in Ancient Surface Decoration*, Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 1, eds. Sarah Lepinsky and Susanna McFadden (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2015), 205–218.

[85] On the history, archaeology, and interior decoration of the housing complex, see especially Beat Brenk, "Microstoria sotto la Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* 18 (1995): 169–206; and A. Englen et al., eds., *Case romane e Antiquarium sotto la basilica dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo al Celio* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004).

phenomenon in detail,[86] and as Michaelides noted in his seminal study of the phenomenon in 1985, imitation-marble mosaics are found almost exclusively in Roman Africa or areas known to have had significant trade networks with the African provinces or employed North African mosaic workshops, such as Sicily and Sardinia.[87] Michaelides documented 42 mosaic pavements or pavement fragments, from the earliest-known example in the Baths of Trajan at Cyrene in Libya, which dates to 119 CE when the baths were renovated,[88] to the latest example in the early-sixth century: a small fragment excavated from the remains of the Palace of Theoderic in Ravenna (fig. 4.80).[89] Of the 42 specimens examined by Michaelides, 32 were discovered in North Africa, which was very likely the origin for the practice. Although the phenomenon has been acknowledged for more than a century,[90] it has

[86] Demetrios Michaelides, "Some Aspects of Marble Imitation in Mosaic," in *Marmi antichi. Problemi d'impiego, di restauro e d'identificazione*, Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte Greca e Romana dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza," Studi Miscellanei 26, ed. Patrizio Pensaabene (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1985), 155–163; and Molholt, "On Stepping Stones." Minor discussions of the phenomenon appear in Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad*, 152–153; Luisa Brecciaroli Taborelli, "Le terme della 'Regio VII' a Sabratha," *Libya Antiqua* 11–12 (1974–1975), 131ff.; Simonetta Angiolillo, *Mosaici antichi in Italia*, vol. 9, *Sardinia* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria, 1981), 27ff; and Bente Kiilerich, "*Trompe-l'oeil* i antik kunst," *Klassisk Forum* 2 (2013): 34–43.

[87] See, for instance, R. J. A. Wilson, "Roman Mosaics in Sicily: The African Connection," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 3 (1982): 413–428.

[88] Cf. Gaspare Oliverio, "Campagna di scavi a Cirene nell'estate del 1926," *Africa italiana* 1 (1927): 317–336; and idem, "Campagna di scavi a Cirene nell'estate del 1928," *Africa italiana* 3 (1930): 141–229.

[89] Cf. Fede Berti, ed., *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione ottava: Ravenna I* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1976), 55, cat. no. 25, plate XXVI.

[90] Nathan Davis first recognized the practice after excavating the imitation-mosaic pavement from a Roman house in Carthage (shown in figs. 4.77, 4.79, 4.89). See *Carthage and Her Remains: Being an Account of the Excavations and Researches on the Site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, and Other Adjacent Places. Conducted under the Auspices of Her Majesty's Government* (London: Richard Bentley, 1861), 396. A few decades later, Paul Gauckler observed the phenomenon in his excavations and archaeological investigations in Tunisia at the baths of Bou-Ghara; the Early Christian basilica and baptistery of El-Kantara (Meninx) on the island of Djerba; the baths of Henchir-Thina (Thyna) as well as a nearby mausoleum; the baths of El Djem (Thysdrus) and at least one Roman house; the Early Christian basilica and baptistery of Sidi Abich; at least two Roman houses at Oudna (Uthina); the Early Christian basilica at Bordj-el-Youdi (Furnos Minus); a Roman house at El Kef (Cirta Nova); the theater at Chemtou (Smitthus); a Roman house at Hammam-Darradji (Bulla Regia); several Roman houses at Carthage; a Byzantine-era monastery near the so-called Chapel of the Martyrs in Carthage; and the Early Christian pilgrimage church of Bir Ftouha in Carthage. Curiously, though, Gauckler seems not to have been aware of the iconography for *giallo antico* marble imitations since he mentions nothing of the practice in his description of the well-known Bir-Chana pavement (fig. 4.90). See *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, *Afrique Proconsulaire (Tunisie)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), 1 (cat. no. 1); 5 (cat. no. 7); 11 (cat. no. 18C); 15 (cat. no. 24); 24 (cat. no. 61A); 28 (cat. no. 68); 86 (cat. no. 248B); 88 (cat. no. 256); 138 (cat. no. 408); 148 (cat. no. 436); 173 (cat. no. 515); 188

generally been dismissed as a mundane and trivial development in North African visuality—a cost-saving alternative to procuring expensive marble slabs—and therefore unworthy of more focused scholarly attention.[91] Unfortunately, even Michaelides retreated to a rather conventional explanation for the emergence of the mosaics, assuming that the cost of quarrying, cutting, and then transporting larger marble blocks was prohibitively high, and therefore using minute tesserae was a more cost-effective alternative. As Molholt has noted, however, this hardly explains why many private houses and villas in Roman Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya were decorated with both actual and fictive marble revetment, as well as imported marble columns.[92]

The only recent scholarship that has attempted to problematize this universalizing economic theory of the phenomenon is Bente Kiilerich's short article, "*Trompe-l'oeil* i antik kunst," which acknowledges that, although imitating larger marble slabs through sophisticated mosaic compositions may have been an economic decision in some circumstances, the practice may also have been part of a broader aesthetic.[93] Indeed, there is hardly a need to create a binary, polarizing view. Economics and aesthetics were never mutually exclusive determinants for Roman or Early Christian decoration. Imitation-marble mosaics were clever forms of visual play in the same mimetic tradition as the well-known *asarotos oikos*, or "unswept floor,"

---

(cat. no. 569); 193 (cat. no. 581); 195 (cat. no. 585); 197 (cat. no. 590); 203 (cat. no. 601); 210 (cat. no. 625); 212 (cat. no. 629); 220 (cat. no. 654); 221 (cat. no. 655); 227 (cat. no. 674); 229 (cat. no. 682); 238 (cat. no. 708); 240 (cat. no. 713); 243 (cat. no. 725); 244 (cat. no. 728); 246 (cat. no. 734); 257 (cat. no. 766); 263 (cat. no. 785); 271 (cat. no. 809); 280 (cat. no. 846). On Bir-Chana, see 151 (cat. no. 447).

[91] See, for instance, Michèle Blanchard-Lemée's dismissive note on imitation-marble mosaics: "Certain elementary forms of mosaic patterns do not go beyond resembling a woven fabric laid out on the floor or simple sheets of marble pavement. The floor itself remains a neutral, horizontal surface, no more and no less a tiled floor. Mosaics shaped into panels *imitating* a grained marble pavement might strike us as absurd. Why go to so much trouble to imitate an effect that could be achieved directly? Perhaps because the labor of a mosaic worker was always rather cheap in antiquity, while large panels of colored marble were always expensive. A mosaic copy of them could create the same effect at a lower cost." Blanchard-Lemée, "Myths and Decorations," in *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia*, eds. Michèle Blanchard-Lemée et al., trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 268.

[92] Molholt, "On Stepping Stones," 35–53.

[93] Bente Kiilerich, "*Trompe-l'oeil* i antik kunst," *Klassisk Forum* 2 (2013): 37.

motif developed by Sosos of Pergamon in the second century BCE, Roman copies of which survive in both Italy and Tunisia (figs. 4.81–4.82).[94] Imitation-marble mosaics were likely valued precisely because they *were* mimetic, much as Pliny the Elder relates in the famous painting competition between Parrhasius and Zeuxis in the fifth century BCE, whereby visual deception was the determining factor of a truly successful pictorial composition.[95] This trope of illusionistic play and visual manipulation was almost certainly a factor in the rise of imitation-marble mosaics among the Roman elite in North Africa, who frequently adorned their homes and bath complexes with these mimetic pavements, often alongside actual marble revetment.

The two most commonly imitated marbles were *cipollino verde* (fig. 4.78), known as *marmor Carystium* in antiquity and quarried on the island of Euboea in Greece (fig. 4.83),[96] and *giallo antico* (fig. 4.84), or *marmor Numidicum*, which was quarried at ancient Smitthus, or what is now Chemtou, Tunisia (fig. 4.85). *Cipollino verde* was one of the most commonly used decorative marbles in antiquity, prized for its milky, fluid-like swirls of green and white *breccia*. The pronounced brecciation of

---

[94] On Sosus of Pergamon's mosaic, see Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis* 36.60. On the mosaic copies from Rome and Aquileia, Italy; Oudna, El Jem, Sidi Abich, and Carthage, Tunisia; and an unprovenanced pavement (most likely from the Levant) currently in the collection at the Château de Boudry, Switzerland, see Gauckler, "Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina," 213–214; idem, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, 84–86, cat. no. 248, and 132, cat. no. 388; Marcel Renard, "Pline l'Ancien et le motif de l'*asarotos-oikos*," *Latomus* 18 (1956): 307–314; Louis Fouchet, "Une mosaïque de Triclinium trouvée à Thysdrus," *Latomus* 20 (1961): 291–297; Renard, "*L'asarotos-oikos* d'El Jem," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 12, no. 45–46 (1964): 35–38; Hugo Meyer, "Zu neueren Deutungen von *Asarotos Oikos* und kapitolinischem Taubenmosaik," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1977): 104–100; Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, 17; Gerd Hagenow, "Der nichtausgekehrte Speisesaal," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 121 (1978): 260–275; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 220–222; Ben Abed, ed., *Stories in Stone*, 147; Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 26–28; Eric M. Moorman, "La Bellezza dell'Immondezza. Raffigurazioni di rifuti nell'arte ellenistica e romana," in *Sordes urbis: la eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana*, eds. Xavier Dupré Raventós and Josep-Anton Remolà (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2000), 75–94; Molholt, "On Stepping Stones," 84–93; and Kiilerich, "*Trompe-l'oeil* i antik kunst," 34–35.

[95] Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 35.65–66. The story is also mentioned in Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 10.27–28.

[96] Pliny, of course, in his encyclopedic discourse on stones in book 36 of the *Natural History*, mentions the fame of the marble quarry at Karystos. For a discussion of the quarry and distribution of *cipollino verde* in antiquity, see Maria Chidiroglou, "Karystian Marble Trade in the Roman Mediterranean Region. An Overview of Old and New Data," in *XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 22–26 Sept. 2008*, *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line* 1 (2010): 48–56.

the stone is also what determined the iconography for depicting it illusionistically. *Cipollino verde* was most often rendered as a series of greenish-gray concentric quadrilaterals with jagged edges that seem to emanate outward—a clear attempt to depict bookmatched marble slabs. Or, in more discrete units, such as smaller panels, it appears more abstractly as a series of wavy lines or groups of chevrons. This pattern can be seen in the fourth-century *impluvium* from Courtyard 4 of the so-called *Maison du Char de Vénus* at Thuburbo Maius (fig. 4.86), now heavily restored at the Musée du Bardo in Tunis (fig. 4.87), and an apparent copy of an earlier pavement in the public baths nearby (fig. 4.88).[97] Perhaps the finest example of the *cipollino verde* type was discovered in 1858 in a Roman house in Carthage by British archaeologist Nathan Davis (fig. 4.77, 4.79). Although the pavement mosaic has survived and is now installed in the Bardo Museum, unfortunately the Roman *domus* from which it was removed has not. In fact, archaeologists still do not know the precise location of the house in Tunis' modern terrain, but sketch-artist Arthur Hall published a view of the archaeological site, with the mosaic *in situ*, in the May 29, 1858, edition of the *Illustrated London News* (fig. 4.89)[98]; and Davis' own archaeological notes in the British Museum archives show that he initially identified the pavement mosaic as an imitation of *verde antico* marble, known in antiquity as *lapis Lacedaemonius* or Spartan basalt, but the pattern is very clearly *cipollino verde*.[99]

---

[97] Cf. Louis Drappier, "Les thermes de Thuburbo Majus," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1920): 55–75; and Margaret A. Alexander, *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie*, vol. 2, part 3, *Région de Zaghouan; Thuburbo Majus, les mosaïques de la région ouest*, Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie 35, no. 3 (Tunis: Insitut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, 1987), 69–70 and plate XXVII, fig. 289.

[98] Arthur Hall, "The Excavations at Carthage," *Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1858): 545.

[99] Davis' notes on the site were later incorporated into *Carthage and Her Remains*. On p. 396 he writes of the Carthaginian mosaic, "On the third day the men in the middle trench, of the line nearest to the sea, came upon a pavement, and on clearing a portion of it, and washing it, we found it to consist of beautiful shades of green marble, representing slabs of *verde antico*, and the imitation was excellent." See also Joann Freed, *Bringing Carthage Home: The Excavations of Nathan Davis, 1856–1859* (Oxford, Oakville: Oxbow Books for the Department of Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies, University of British Columbia, 2011), 143.

*Giallo antico*, on the other hand, was represented by oval, oblong, or circular shapes, often pale yellow and delineated by red borders, and placed within a field of orange tesserae, such as in the third-century Bir-Chana pavement from near Zaghouan (fig. 4.90–4.91), also removed to the Bardo.[100] In most instances, cost was not a significant factor in the decision to employ imitation-marble mosaics over actual marble revetment or *opus sectile*. Examples of Roman houses throughout Africa Proconsularis and Cyrenaica abound with combinations of imported marble slabs and column shafts as well as imitation-marble pavements, such as the House of Jason Magnus at Cyrene in Libya.[101] The house is actually an amalgam of two houses. A more luxurious residence on the western side of the *insula* was transformed into a massive estate when the owner bought the adjacent houses on the east and part of a city street that separated them, incorporating all of it into the design of the expanded estate. Within the so-called "summer triclinium" on the western side (figs. 4.92–4.93), there appears one of the more striking examples of an ancient *opus sectile* pavement, filled with an assortment of marble slabs and dressed fragments from every corner of the Roman Empire. The owner, who was perhaps the same Tiberius Claudius Jason Magnus mentioned in the mosaic inscription of the nearby Temple of Hermes, could obviously afford such a lavish pavement, but within the peristyle of the eastern side, the pavement is composed of mosaic (fig. 4.94–4.95) rather than *opus sectile*, yet clearly the *tesserae* have been arranged to imitate a very similar *opus sectile* design as seen in the triclinium of the same estate. Both pavements date, most likely, to the Late

[100] Cf. Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, 151–152, cat. no. 447.
[101] Cf. Paolino Mingazzini and Enrica Fiandra, *L'insula di Giasone Magno a Cirene*, Monografie di archeologia libica 8 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1966); J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Review of *L'Agora di Cirene. 1: I lati nord ed est della platea inferiore* by Sandro Stucchi; *L'insula di Giasone Magno a Cirene* by Paolino Mingazzini and Enrica Fiandra," *Gnomon* 40, no. 7 (1968): 699–704; Alexander G. McKay, *Houses, Villas, and Palaces in the Roman World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 230–231; and Philip M. Kenrick and Ahmed Buzaian, *Cyrenaica* (London: Silphium Press, 2013), 163–166.

Antonine or Early Severan period. Although the two sides of the building originally belonged to separate residences, by the time the entire complex had been reorganized, clearly there was no attempt to replace the imitation-marble mosaic with real *opus sectile* or larger marble slabs. Without a firm chronology, it is impossible to determine which pavement came first, but it is feasible that the imitation-marble mosaic was in dialogue with the *opus sectile* floor of the triclinium, either *before* the two residences were joined, in which case the mosaic may have been a way of "keeping up with the Joneses," or *after* the merger, which meant that the owner of the more luxurious home deliberately chose to install an imitation-mosaic floor even after he had installed a spectacular colored marble pavement.

The House of Jason Magnus is by no means an isolated example. A number of Roman houses and bath complexes combined both real and fictive marble in adjacent or sometimes even the same spaces. The so-called House of the New Hunt at Bulla Regia employs imitation *giallo antico* mosaics alongside solid *giallo antico* marble column shafts (fig. 4.96).[102] Even the famous Villa Romana del Casale at Piazza Armerina in Sicily, which seems to spare no expense on interior decoration, including imported marbles, contains imitation-marble mosaics that were likely influenced and/or designed by North African workshops (fig. 4.97).[103] These seemingly intentional juxtapositions challenge the pejorative connotation associated with the term "imitation" or "copy" and theories of economic necessity, instead suggesting that the compositions were part of a much richer form of visual play that compelled the viewer to examine the relationship between the materiality of the mosaic and the

[102] Cf. Azedine Beschaouch, Roger Hanoune, and Yvon Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 28 (Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1977), 64. A similar mosaic pavement is in the adjacent House of the Hunt at Bulla Regia (not to be confused with the House of the New Hunt), but it Hanoune and Thébert did not publish it in the mosaic corpus description. For the house itself, however, see ibid., 54–63.
[103] Cf. Wilson, "Roman Mosaics in Sicily," 413–428.

luxury of the stones it sought to imitate.

Imitation-marble mosaics were particularly common in Roman baths. Pavements mimicking bookmatched *cipollino verde* slabs or *giallo antico* inlay have been found in a number of both public *thermae* and private *balnea* throughout North Africa, as well as Agrigento in Sicily and Nora in Sardinia (figs. 4.98–4.102).[104] As Fabio Barry has noted, the characteristics of *cipollino verde* were frequently exploited for evoking the sea in Roman art and architecture.[105] And although the stone was never used exclusively in aquatic contexts—not only baths but also nymphaea and *impluvia*—nevertheless it can be found within those spaces quite routinely, and it was likely on account of this aquatic association that imitation *cipollino verde* mosaic pavements were frequently installed in the *frigidaria* of Roman baths to not only accentuate the actual water within the plunge-pools, but also to evoke the cool, rippling waves of the sea (figs. 4.101–4.102). From the time of Aristotle and Theophrastus in the fourth and third centuries BCE until at least the thirteenth century CE, it was generally believed that marble was a form of congealed water, either frozen or made solid by subterranean fire.[106] Marble—and by extension its imitations—was therefore an appropriate material to use in aquatic settings, and its ability to conjure inventive *ekphraseis* on rivers, oceans, and paradisiacal landscapes is well known, especially in late-antique Byzantium, where the Proconnesian and Thessalian marble floor slabs of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (figs. 4.103–4.104)

[104] On the imitation *giallo antico* pavement at Agrigento, see Pietro Griffo and Ernesto de Miro, "Emporion," *Fasti archeologici* 10 (1955): 336, cat. no. 4267. For the *giallo antico* mosaic at Nora, see Gennaro Pesce, *Nora: guida agli scavi* (Cagliari: Editrice Sarda Fossataro, 1972), 44; Gilbert-Charles Picard, *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar*, vol. 1, *La Maison de Vénus*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 34 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 45; and Simonetta Angiolillo, Mosaici antichi in Italia, vol. 9, *Sardinia* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1981), 3–62, at 44–48.
[105] Barry, "Walking on Water," 632–633.
[106] Ibid., 630.

were almost as famous as the church's iconic dome.[107] Roman baths (and later, Early Christian baptisteries) offered spaces where surface could be dematerialized and visual boundaries obscured, as actual water blended with marble that both resembled water and was believed to have been water, as well as imitation-marble mosaics that consciously emulated watery characteristics.

In many ways, Early Christian baptisteries were the natural successors of Roman bath architecture and iconography, and therefore it is hardly surprising that a number of North African baptisteries adopted the same practice of imitation-marble mosaics that had come to characterize many of the baths within the same cities. At the fourth-century baptistery of Meninx (fig. 4.105), now El-Kantara on the island of Djerba in Tunisia, the entire baptismal space was once adorned with white marble, alabaster, and imitation-alabaster mosaics. In 1901 Paul Gauckler visited the archaeological site and later recorded his observations in his 1910 inventory of mosaics from Africa Proconsularis.[108] He notes that the interior of the baptistery was paved with polychromatic marble slabs, and inside the corridor connecting the baptistery to the corresponding basilica, he discovered alabaster revetment. This, he claims, was juxtaposed with mosaic floor panels that imitated slabs of alabaster, which was also found in the nave of the basilica. The baptismal font was removed long ago from the site and installed into the floor of the Bardo. Unfortunately, this has significantly compromised any attempt to verify Gauckler's observations about the

[107] See, for instance, Paul the Silentiary's famous description of Hagia Sophia in *Descriptio S. Sophiae*. For the relationship between Paul's vision and the materiality of the interior space, see especially Nicoletta Isar, "'Χορός of light': Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's Poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae*," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 215–242; Maria Luigia Fobelli, *Un tempio per Giustiniano. Santa Sofia de Costantinopoli e la Descrizione di Paolo Silenziario* (Rome: Viella, 2005); Barry, "Painting in Stone: The Symbolism of Colored Marbles in the Visual Arts and Literature from Antiquity until the Enlightenment," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 2011), 190–273; and idem, "Walking on Water."

[108] Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, 5, cat. no. 7; and idem, *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie (1892–1904)* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1913), plate XXXI. See also Michèle Blanchard, "Fragments de mosaïques de Djerba conservés au Musée de Blois," *Antiquités africaines* 12 (1978): 217–239.

baptistery or the basilica, and the archaeological site has further deteriorated over the last century. Although it is impossible to determine precisely how the imitation-alabaster panels appeared, it is likely that they adhered to the same pattern of jagged-edged concentric quadrilaterals that were used to depict *cipollino verde* in other imitation-marble mosaics (figs. 4.106–4.107). This was one of the natural patterns characteristic of imported Egyptian alabaster (fig. 4.108). The visual effect inside the baptistery would have been quite stunning: Sections of the pavement and probably also the interior walls were lined with real slabs of white alabaster and other colored marbles, the space included mosaics resembling slabs of alabaster, and the baptismal font itself was composed of a bright white and relatively unbrecciated marble. Saturating the baptismal space with varying surfaces of white stone not only functioned as a sensorial strategy for reflecting the candlelight that would have illuminated the space, but it was also highly theological. Early Christian catechumens were baptized naked, after which they were issued white robes as a sign of their purification and entrance into the Christian community, as well as a "theological corrective" to the garments of skin offered to Adam and Eve in the Genesis narrative. Under these circumstances, it seems highly unlikely that the use of imitation-alabaster mosaics was fiscally motivated when there appeared to be no limit on the acquisition of other decorative stones at Meninx. One of the most common themes in Early Christian baptismal liturgies was the abandonment of carnality and the development of spiritual vision. The baptismal liturgy was a mimetic performance of the temptation of Adam and Eve, with the consequences reversed through the salvific waters of baptism. This opened the eyes of faith rather than the eyes of the flesh. These valences of mimesis and transformation would have correlated well with the dichotomy of imitation and actuality within the baptistery's sacral context. Meninx

was almost certainly part of a broader trend in the late-fourth and early-fifth century. Gauckler recorded similar imitation-stone mosaics in several other Early Christian monuments that have not survived, including the basilica and baptistery of Sidi Abich, the basilica at Bordj-el-Youdi (or ancient Furnos Minus), and a Byzantine-era monastery near the so-called Chapel of the Martyrs in Carthage.[109]

One of the more interesting appropriations from bath to baptistery can be seen in the font of the Basilica of Hildeguns at Makhtar (fig. 4.109), one of the few churches built during the fifth-century Vandal occupation. The church was stripped of its decoration long ago, but when Sebastian Ristow published his *Frühchristliche Baptisterien* in 1998, the black-and-white photograph that he used for Hildeguns showed a complete panel of imitation-marble mosaic (fig. 4.110) that was almost certainly intended to represent *cipollino verde*, based on comparisons with the *frigidarium* of the nearby Great Baths of Makhtar (figs. 4.111).[110] The entire pavement of the *frigidarium* was composed of elaborately arranged mosaic panels imitating bookmatched *cipollino verde* with *giallo antico* borders and *opus sectile* compositions. The wavy striations for the *cipollino* panels are nearly identical to those used in the baptistery 250 years later. Unfortunately, nearly all of the tesserae from the baptismal font have since disappeared (fig. 4.112), presumably having fallen into the large chamber immediately below the font, but enough tesserae survive, in conjunction with Ristow's archival photograph, to determine the *cipollino* pattern. Similar basin designs for Roman baths have been discovered at Sétif (Roman Sitifis in Algeria) and Thuburbo Maius (figs. 4.102, 4.113).[111] Lining the inside of the

[109] Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, 84–86, cat. no. 248 (Sidi Abich); 173, cat. no. 515 (Bordj-el-Ioudi); and 238, cat. no. 708 (Carthage).
[110] Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, plate 22a–b.
[111] On the baths at Sétif, see Elizabeth Fentress, "Sétif, les thermes du Ve siècle," in *L'Africa romana: Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16–18 dicembre 1988*, Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di storia dell'Università di Sassari 14, ed. Attilio Mastino (Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi, 1989), 321–337. On the

Hildeguns font with imitation *cipollino verde* would have helped activate the movement of water in the basin, which in turn helped activate the senses of the initiates in the baptismal rite.

The most expansive use of imitation-marble mosaics occurs at the fifth-century Basilica of St. Crispina in Tébessa, Algeria (fig. 4.114), one of the largest and most significant pilgrimage churches in North Africa.[112] The nave was carpeted by a series of square- and cross-shaped mosaic panels (fig. 4.115) that imitated slabs of *giallo antico*, and each panel was carefully framed by a chevron pattern, which, by this period, often served as an abstracted reference to the natural striations of other variegated marbles. Examples of this can be found in Roman *xenia* mosaics (fig. 4.116),[113] imitation paving blocks, and even the Early Christian Donatist baptistery at nearby Timgad (fig. 4.62–4.63). The column shafts lining the nave of St. Crispina (fig. 4.117) are heavily brecciated with color variations of red, yellow, and orange, which most likely corresponds to *giallo antico* or a local variation of *breccia corallina*. And on the southern side of the basilica is a large triconch chapel (figs. 4.118–4.119), where excavations have uncovered several different types of imported marble column shafts and capitals, including pairs of *cipollino verde* columns with prominent vertical striations, not unlike the imitation-marble borders framing the faux *giallo antico* panels of the nave. The visual play between real *giallo antico* and

---

Winter Baths at Thuburbo Maius, see Drappier, "Les thermes de Thuburbo Majus"; and Alexander, *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie*, vol. 2, part 3, 69–70 and plate XXVII, fig. 289.

[112] Christern, *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa*, 52–75. It is strange that Christern was unable to recognize the nave mosaics of the church as imitation *giallo antico* panels when many of the other examples of imitation-marble pavements from North Africa and Italy had been identified and published long before 1976. Describing the nave panels as imitations of scattered pebbles, Christern writes, "Das Binnenfeld schmückt eine Imitation von verstreuten Kieseln: auf rotem Grund sind ovale und bunte, gelblich-weiße Steine (Kiesel?) verteilt" (72). The "verstreuten Kieseln" he observed were the established iconography in antiquity for depicting the natural striations and brecciation of *giallo antico* marble.

[113] On the significance of the *xenia*, or hospitality, theme in North African mosaics, see especially Catherine Balmelle, ed., *Xenia. Recherches franco-tunisiennes sur la mosaïque de l'Afrique antique*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 125 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1990).

*cipollino verde* columns juxtaposed with imitation-revetment mosaics cannot be dismissed as a mere lack of raw materials, especially since the basilica had access to spoliated marbles from Roman temples and other civic buildings in the area. Only in the most sophisticated forms of imitation marble could a mosaic hope to deceive the viewer into thinking it was a quarried slab. The mimetic nature of the mosaic was intentionally emphasized. It was precisely through the awareness of mimesis that the viewer became a participant in a visual game, much like Zeuxis' deception at the hands of Parrhasius. How refined were the viewer's senses for distinguishing the real from the imitation? For the Early Christian viewer processing through the nave of St. Crispina, however, it was less of a visual game than a reminder that the terrestrial world and the carnal senses activated to understand it were inherently deceptive and unreliable, mere imitations of a higher plane of existence in which spiritual vision was the only reliable mode of seeing.

Not all examples of imitation marble were designed to resemble larger slabs. Many of the finest third- and fourth-century mosaics from Timgad and Djémila in Algeria were modeled on *opus sectile* designs (fig. 4.120), and this seems to be the case as well at the late-fourth or early-fifth-century Christian basilica of Bellator in Sbeïtla (figs. 4.121–4.123).[114] Here the extant mosaic pavement of the choir appears to imitate the craftsmanship of *opus sectile* while also presenting patterns that evoke the form of bookmatched marble slabs. Archaeologists have consistently dismissed these mosaics as simple decorative, geometric patterns.[115] This, however, is a myopic view, which overlooks geometric forms in North African mosaics as imitations of lavish *opus sectile* floors in villas and elite urban estates. At Bellator, the carefully delineated square, circular, and diamond-shaped panels appear to have been designed

[114] Duval, *Les basiliques de Sbeïtla à deux sanctuaires opposés*, 7–97.
[115] See, for instance, Duval's characterization in ibid., 47–48.

as either an evocation or perhaps even a *trompe-l'œil* illusion of various forms of marble inlay. Duval, who declared the mosaics "très simple," nevertheless made an important observation on some of the panel shapes, most notably the exterior frames of both circular and quadrilateral forms, which, he declared, were contained by curvilinear borders (fig. 4.124)[116] He casually assigned the motifs to a visual repertoire common to Roman Tunisia, but this particular form is not, in fact, common throughout the region but rather is most often seen in attempts to replicate the concentric striations of brecciated marbles (usually bookmatched), and especially *cipollino verde*. These imitation bookmatched marble segments are interrupted by other square and circular designs, many of which contain the same chevron pattern used to evoke the perceived movement and liquid fluidity of marble revetment, or they resemble *opus sectile* panels, such as those used in earlier Roman domestic spaces. Unlike the *trompe-l'œil* attempts to recreate the swirling effects of real marble revetment on the floors of Roman houses and baths in Late Antiquity, the effect of the church interior is more evocative than illusionistic. More importantly, the mosaic functions as a threshold, both literally and metaphorically. To enter the space of the apse, one must cross over the choir mosaic, a barrier of mimetic forms that can be seen as a metaphor for the Christian community piercing the veil that separated earthly and heavenly space.

Imitation-marble pavements in Roman houses enabled the owners to participate in a visual pun of having floors designed to resemble large slabs of beautifully brecciated marble, composed of the exact marble they imitated, with each marble tessera in the composition functioning as a completely self-contained materiality of the very thing it imitated. It is unlikely, however, that designers of

[116] Ibid., 47–56.

Early Christian churches and their attendant baptisteries, or the priests and bishops who presided over them, were as enamored of this type of visual play. Certainly, Christians adopted the practice according to contemporary aesthetic trends, but it was perhaps also a visual cue that the carnal senses themselves were deceptive and that the materiality of form was but a signifier of a far greater immaterial reality that could only be understood through the development of spiritual perception. One could be deceived into thinking the imitation marble was actually a slab of much costlier marble paneling, but once the deception was realized, the object being imitated had already come to mind. This has a certain Christian Neoplatonic appeal to it: The material realities of the earth are but imitations and imprints of their true, spiritual realities in heaven.

*Conclusion*

This trope of spiritual perception, and especially of vision, was particularly strong in the writings of St. Augustine, whose influence was significant among the North African provinces, both before and after the Vandal Conquest in the fifth century, which ultimately claimed his life. Ambrose of Milan, Augustine's mentor, provided much of the Neoplatonic foundation for Augustine's later treatises, consistently emphasizing in his catechetical instructions the importance of Christian catechumens to transcend their carnal vision and learn to adopt spiritual perception for looking beyond the material, terrestrial world to experience a more perfect immaterial world governed by God. This was the beginning of epiphany. Christian initiates were thought to stand on the threshold of material and immaterial realities, a locus where divine presence transcended the terrestrial world and yet, paradoxically, was thought to be simultaneously immanent within the materials and substances that defined the space as holy. Encountering the divine occurred only by passing *per*

*visibilia ad invisibilia*, a phrase more common to later-medieval theologians, but which finds its origin in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.[117] Moreover, the basis for the concept had become a commonplace by the late-fourth and early-fifth century in the writings of the so-called mystagogical theologians, whose catechetical sermons proclaimed carnal vision as the catalyst for spiritual vision. Only through the stimulation of the bodily senses could the individual ultimately transcend them and develop extrasensory, incorporeal vision that led to theophany.

[117] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10.14.

# Conclusion

In the introduction to *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Karl Morrison and Giselle de Nie write, "When all was said and done, seeing the invisible, as passing beyond the material into the immaterial world (or rather perceiving the immaterial that encompassed and was enfolded within the material) was possible only in the moment of experience, and not by recapitulations teasingly provided by words and pictures. After all, words and pictures laboured under severe disabilities as channels to reality."[1] For the Early Christian initiate, spiritual vision acquired within the baptismal space provided access to the highest plane of existence. The ultimate goal was to experience theophany, to glimpse paradise with eyes whose vision had been transformed from carnal to spiritual. It was only through the catalyst of the carnal senses, however, that initiates could hope to achieve this vision, and the composition and materiality of baptismal space provided ample opportunities to exercise that transformation.

[1] Karl F. Morrison and Giselle de Nie, "Introduction," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000 (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, eds. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhourt: Brepols, 2005), 10.

Appendix 1: Ancient and Medieval Primary Sources Cited

1. Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī
    a. *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*
2. Ambrose of Milan
    a. *De mysteriis*
    b. *De sacramentis*
    c. *Hexameron*
3. Aristotle
    a. *De poetica*
4. Athenagoras
    a. *Legatio*
5. Augustine of Hippo
    a. *Confessiones*
    b. *Contra secundam Juliani responsionem*
    c. *De civitate Dei*
    d. *De Genesi ad litteram*
    e. *De Trinitate*
    f. *Enarratio in psalmum*
    g. *Enchiridion*
    h. *Epistola* 59
    i. *Epistola* 104
    j. *Epistola* 137
    k. *Epistola* 258
    l. *Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*
    m. *Sermo* 9
    n. *Sermo* 14
    o. *Sermo* 32
    p. *Sermo* 46
    q. *Sermo* 56
    r. *Sermo* 119
    s. *Sermo* 198
    t. *Sermo* 212
6. Avitus of Vienne
    a. *De spiritalis historiae gestis*
7. *Barberini Euchologion* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 336)
8. Barsanuphios of Gaza
    a. *Epistola* 336
9. Basil of Caesarea
    a. *De spiritu sancto*
    b. *Epistola* 137
10. *Breviarium Hipponense*
11. *Bobbio Missal* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 13246)
12. Burgundio of Pisa
    a. *Expositio fidei orthodoxae*
13. Caesarius of Arles
    a. *Sermo* 12

14. *Canones in causa Apiarii*
15. Choricius of Gaza
    a. *Laudatio Marciani*
16. Clement of Alexandria
    a. *Paedagogus*
    b. *Stromata*
17. Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus
    a. *De re rustica*
18. *Concilium Eliberritanum: Canones*
19. *Concilium Nicenum: Canones*
20. *Constitutiones apostolorum*
21. *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV*
22. Cyprian of Carthage
    a. *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*
    b. *Epistola* 73
23. Cyril of Jerusalem
    a. *Catecheses ad illuminandos*
    b. *Catecheses mystagogiae*
    c. *Procatechesis*
24. Didymus the Blind
    a. *Commentarii in Job*
25. *Doctrina Addoei*
26. Egeria
    a. *Itinerarium peregrinatio*
27. Eligius of Noyon
    a. *De rectitudine catholicae conversionis*
28. Eusebius of Caesarea
    a. *Historia Ecclesiastica*
    b. *Praeparatio evangelica*
    c. *Vita Constantini*
29. *Expositio de fide catholica*
30. *Gelasian Sacramentary* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS reg. lat. 316)
31. Gregory of Nazianzus
    a. *Epistola* 101
    b. *Epistola* 125
    c. *Epistola* 126
    d. *Oratio* 31
32. Gregory of Nyssa
    a. *Adversus eos qui baptismum differunt*
    b. *De oratione Dominica*
    c. *In diem luminum (vulgo in baptismum Christi oratio)*
33. Gregory the Great
    a. *Registrum epistularum*
34. Hilary of Poitiers
    a. *Tractatus super psalmos*
35. Hippolytus of Rome
    a. *Canones*
36. Homer
    a. *Iliad*

b. *Odyssey*
37. Ildephonsus of Toledo
    a. *De cognitione baptismi*
38. Irenaeus of Lyon
    a. *Adversus Haereses*
39. Isho'yahb of Kh'dayab
    a. *Order of Holy Baptism*
40. Isidore of Seville
    a. *De ecclesiasticis officiis*
41. Jerome
    a. *Epistola* 53
    b. *Homilia* 92
42. John Chrysostom
    a. *Catecheses ad illuminandos*
    b. *Homilia ad populum Antiochenum*
    c. *Homiliae in Ioannem*
    d. *In epistulam i ad Timotheum*
    e. *In Psalmum*
43. John of Damascus
    a. *De fide orthodoxa*
44. John of Gaza
    a. *Descriptio Tabulae Mundi*
45. John the Deacon
    a. *Epistola ad Senarium*
46. Josephus, Flavius
    a. *Antiquitates Judaicae*
    b. *De bello Judaico*
47. Kosmas Indikopleustes
    a. *Topographia Christiana*
48. Lactantius
    a. *Divinae institutiones*
49. Leo I
    a. *Tractatus*
50. *Liber ordinum episcopal* (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4)
51. *Liber ordinum sacerdotal* (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 3)
52. *Liber pontificalis*
53. *Manuale ambrosianum*
54. Martin of Braga
    a. *De correctione rusticorum*
55. *Missale Gothicum* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS reg. lat. 317)
56. Narsai
    a. *Homilia* 17
    b. *Homilia* 21
    c. *Homilia* 22
57. Nicetas of Remesiana
    a. *Instructio ad competentes*
    b. *Tractatus de baptismo*
58. *Notitia urbis Regionum*
59. Optatus of Milevis

a. Adversus Donatistas
60. Origen
a. *Homiliae in Exodum*
61. Pacianus
a. *Sermo de baptismo*
62. Palladius
a. *Dialogus* 9
63. *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*
64. Paul the Silentiary
a. *Descriptio S. Sophiae*
65. Paulinus of Nola
a. *Epistola* 32
66. Plato
a. *Politeia*
67. Pliny the Elder
a. *Historia naturalis*
68. Plutarch
a. *Vita Artaxerxes*
69. Pomponius Mela
a. *De situ orbis*
70. Proba, Faltonia Betitia
a. *Cento*
71. *Psalm of the Vagabond* (Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book)
72. Pseudo-Cyril
a. *De sacrosancta trinitate*
73. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite
a. *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*
74. Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene
a. *Chronicon*
75. Quodvultdeus
a. *Contra Iudaeos paganos et Arrianos*
b. *De symbolo*
c. *De tempore barbarico*
76. *Rituale Armenorum*
77. Salvian
a. *De gubernatione Dei*
78. Seneca the Younger
a. *Epistola* 56
79. Sokrates of Constantinople
a. *Historia eccleasiastica*
80. *Stowe Missal* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D II 3)
81. Strabo
a. *Geographica*
82. Taio of Saragossa
a. *Sententiae*
83. Tertullian
a. *Apologeticum*
b. *De anima*
c. *De baptismo*
d. *De corona*

    e. *De pudicitia*
    f. *De resurrectione carnis*
    g. *De spectaculis*
84. Theodore of Mopsuestia
    a. *Homiliae de baptismo*
85. Theophrastus
    a. *Historia plantarum*
86. *Traditio apostolica*
87. Virgil
    a. *Eclogues*
88. *Vita Macarii* (preserved in the *Vitae Patrum*)
89. Xenophon
    a. *Anabasis*
    b. *Hellenika*
    c. *Kyropaedia*
90. Zeno of Verona
    a. *Tractatus*

Bibliography

Abad Casal, Lorenzo. “Las imitaciones de ‘crustae’ en la pintura mural romana en España.” *Archivo español de arqueología* 50–51, no. 135–138 (1977–1978): 189–208.

Accame, Paolo. “Instrumenta Episcoporum Albinganensium (Documenti del R. Archivio di Stato di Torino).” Ed. Giovanni Pesce. *Collana Storico-Archeologica della Liguria Occidentale* 13, no. 4 (1935): 1–187.

Aiello, Vincenzo. “Costantino, la lebbra e il battesimo di Silvestro.” In *Costantino il Grande: Dall’antichità all’umanesimo. Colloquio sul cristianesimo nel mondo antico, Macerata, 18–20 dicembre 1990*. Eds. Giorgio Bonamente and Franca Fusco. Macerata: Università degli studi di Macerata, 1992. 17–58.

Ajnalov, Dmitrij Vlasévič. “Мозаики древней крещальни въ Альбенгв.” Византийский Временник 8 (1901): 516–525.

Albertini, Eugène. “Une nouvelle basilique civile à Cuicul (Djemila).” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 87, no. 3 (1943): 376–386.

Albu, Emily. “Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map.” *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 136–148.

_____. *The Medieval Peutinger Map: Imperial Roman Revival in a German Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Aleksova, Blaga. “*Domus Ecclesiae* at Stobi: The First Christian Community House in Macedonia.” *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 1, no. 16 (1996): 299–309.

_____. “Episcopal Basilica at Stobi: Excavations and Researches 1970–1981.” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32, no. 4 (1982): 481–490.

_____. “The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi.” *Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 33 (1986): 13–81.

_____. “The Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi, 1985.” In Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον Καθηγητήν Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο Πανεπιστήμιο. Ed. Nikolaos K. Moutsopoulos. Thessaloniki: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Πολυτεκνική Σχολή, Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων, 1990. 167–179.

_____. “The Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi: Archaeological Excavations and Research, 1981–1989.” Старинар 40–41 (1989–1990): 291–294.

Alexander, Margaret A. *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie*. Vol. 2, part 3, *Région de*

*Zaghouan; Thuburbo Majus, les mosaïques de la région ouest*. Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie 35, no. 3. Tunis: Insitut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, 1987.

_____. "Mosaic Ateliers at Tabarka." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 1–11.

Alexander, Margaret A., Aïcha Ben Abed-Ben Khader, and Guy P. R. Métraux. "The Corpus of the Mosaics of Tunisia: Carthage Project, 1992–1994." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 361–368.

Allais, Yvonne. *Djémila*. Le monde romain, Collection publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938.

_____. "Le quartier occidental de Djemila (Cuicul)." *Antiquités africaines* 5 (1971): 95–120.

Allberry, C. R. C., and Hugo Ibscher. *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*. Vol. 3. Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection 2. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.

Ambrose of Milan. *Sancti Ambrosii opera. Pars settima*. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 73. Ed. Otto Faller. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1955.

Ameisenowa, Zofja, and W. F. Mainland. "The Tree of Life in Jewish Iconography." *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 4 (1939): 326–345.

Anamali, Skënder. "Mozaikët e bazilikës paleokristiane të Linit (Pogradec)." *Lirija* 3 (1974): 329–342.

_____. "The Basilica at Ballsh." *New Albania* 6 (1976): 34–35.

Andaloro, Maria, and Serena Romano. "Das Bild in der Apsis." In *Römisches Mittelalter: Kunst und Kultur in Rom von der Spätantike bis Giotto*. Eds. Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 2002. 73–102, 204–208.

Anderson, Jeffrey C., ed. *The Christian Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustes: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 9.28. The Map of the Universe Redrawn in the Sixth Century*. Folia picta: manoscritti miniati medievali 3. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2013.

Andrade, Nathanael. "The Processions of John Chrysostom and the Contested Spaces of Constantinople." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 18, no. 2 (2010): 161–189.

Andreescu-Treadgold, Irina. "Les deux phases originelles des mosaïques murales de San Vitale à Ravenne." In *La mosaïque gréco-romaine VIII: actes du VIIIème Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique et médiévale,*

*Lausanne (Suisse), 6–11 octobre 1997*. Eds. Daniel Paunier and Christophe Schmidt. Lausanne: Cahiers d'archéologie romande, 2001. 130–131.

_____. "The Mosaic Workshop at San Vitale." In *Mosaici a S. Vitale e altri restauri: il restauro in situ di mosaici parietali. Atti del Convegno nazionale sul restauro in situ di mosaici parietali, Ravenna, 1–3 ottobre 1990*. Eds. Anna Maria Iannucci, Cesare Fiori, and Cetty Muscolino. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1992. 31–41.

Andreopoulos, A. "The Mosaic of the Transfiguration in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: A Discussion of Its Origins." *Byzantion* 72 (2002): 9–37.

Angeletti, Luciana Rita. "Usi terapeutici delle acque nella trattatistica medica della tarda antichità (secoli IV–VII d.C.)." In *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 821–871.

Angiolillo, Simonetta. *Mosaici antichi in Italia*. Vol. 9, *Sardinia*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria, 1981.

Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M., and Eugenio Russo. *La basilica del Salvatore poi di S. Giovanni al Laterano, cattedrale di Roma*. San Marino: Asset Banca; Pazzini, 2013.

Ardisson, Sandrine. "Présentation des sites de Cimiez et de Nice (colline du château) : nouvelles approches." In *Capitales éphémères. Des Capitales de cités perdent leur statut dans l'Antiquité tardive, Actes du colloque Tours, 6–8 mars 2003)*, Supplément à la Revue archéologique du centre de la France 25 (Tours: Féderation pour l'édition de la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 2004), 247–254.

Aristotle. *Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*. Mnemosyne Supplement 338. Eds. Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012.

Asensio, Sebastián Ramallo, eds. *La* scaenae frons *en la arquitectura teatral romana. Actas del Symposium internacional celebrado en Cartagena los días 12 al 14 de Marzo de 2009 en el Museo del Teatro Romano*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Fundación Teatro Romano de Cartagena, 2010.

Auf der Maur, Hans Jörg, and Joop Waldram. "*Illuminatio Verbi Divini – Confessio Fidei – Gratia Baptismi*. Wort, Glaube und Sakrament in Katechumenat und Taufliturgie bei Origenes." In *Fides sacramenti, sacramentum fidei: Studies in Honour of Pieter Smulders*. Eds. Hans Jörg Auf der Maur, Leo Bakker, Annewies van de Bunt, and Joop Waldram. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981. 41–96.

Augustine of Hippo. *Sancti Avrelii Avgvstini: Sermones in Matthaevm I*. Corpus Christianorum Scriptorum Latinorum. 41Aa. Ed. P.-P. Verbraken. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. 2nd ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà, eds. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Bacci, Michele. "Performed Topographies and Topomimetic Piety. Imaginative Sacred Spaces in Medieval Italy." In *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Пространственные иконы : перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси]. Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow: Индрик, 2011. 101–118.

Bagnoli, Martina, et al., eds. *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. Baltimore; New Haven: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery; Yale University Press, 2010.

Ballu, Albert. *Guide illustré de Djémila (Antique Cuicul)*. Algiers: Ancienne Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1926.

_____. *Les ruines de Timgad, antique Thamugadi. Sept années de découvertes (1903–1910)*. Paris: Neurdein Frères, 1911.

Balmelle, Catherine, ed. *Xenia. Recherches franco-tunisiennes sur la mosaïque de l'Afrique antique*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 125. Rome: École française de Rome, 1990.

Balmelle, Catherine, Aïcha Ben Abed-Ben Khader, and Fathi Bejaoui. "La Maison des Deux Lions à Carthage." In *XI. Uluslararası Antik Mozaik Sempozyumu, 16–20 Ekim 2009, Bursa, Türkiye. Türkiye Mozaikleri ve Antik Dönemden Ortaçağ Dünyasına Diğer Mozaiklerle Paralel Gelişimi: Mozaiklerin Başlangıcından Geç Bizans Çağına Kadar Ikonografi, Stil ve Teknik Üzerine Sorular* [*11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, October 16th–20th, 2009, Bursa, Turkey. Mosaics of Turkey and Parallel Developments in the Rest of the Ancient and Medieval World: Questions of Iconography, Style and Technique from the Beginnings of Mosaic until the Late Byzantine Era*]. Ed. Mustafa Şahın. Istanbul: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2011. 69–86.

Balmelle, Catherine, and Sylvain Doussau. "La mosaïque à l'océan trouvée à Maubourguet (Hautes-Pyrénées)." *Gallia* 40, no. 1 (1982): 149–170.

Balmelle, C., et al. "Vitalité de l'architecture domestique à Carthage au Ve siècle: l'exemple de la maison dite de la rotonde, sur la colline de l'odéon." *Antiquité tardive* 11 (2003): 151–166.

Bannister, Turpin C. "The Constantinian Basilica of Saint Peter at Rome." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 27, no. 1 (1968): 3–32.

Baratte, François, and Fethi Bejaoui. "Églises urbaines, églises rurales dans la Tunisie paléochrétienne: Nouvelles recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145, no. 4 (2001): 1447–1498.

Baratte, François, and Noël Duval. *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du musée du Louvre*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1978.

Baratte, F., N. Duval, and J.-Cl. Golvin. "Recherches a Haïdra (Tunisie) V: Le capitole (?), la basilique V." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 117, no. 1 (1973): 156–178.

Barber, Charles. *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Barry, Fabio. "'I marmi loquaci': Malerei in Stein ('I marmi loquaci': Painting in Stone)." *Daidalos: Berlin Architectural Journal* 56 (1995): 106–121.

_____. "Painting in Stone: The Symbolism of Colored Marbles in the Visual Arts and Literature from Antiquity until the Enlightenment." Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2011.

_____. "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages." *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 627–656.

Bauer, Franz Alto. "Stadtbild und Heiligenlegende. Die Christianisierung Ostias in der spätantiken Gedankenwelt." In *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung. Symposion vom 14. bis 16. Februar 2000 in Halle/Saale*. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 11. Eds. Gunnar Brands and Hans-Georg Severin. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), 43–62.

Bauer, Franz Alto, et al. "Untersuchungen im Bereich der konstantinischen Bischofskirche Ostias. Vorbericht zur ersten Grabungskampagne 1998." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 106 (1999): 289–341.

Bauer, Franz Alto, and Michael Heinzelmann. "The Constantinian Bishop's Church at Ostia: Preliminary Report on the 1998 Season." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999): 342–354.

_____. "L'église episcopale d'Ostie." In *Ostia : port et porte de la Rome antique*. Ed. Jean-Paul Descœudres. Geneva; Paris: Musées d'art et d'histoire; Georg Editeur, 2001. 278–282.

_____. "Die frühchristliche Basilika in der Regio V: erste Grabungsergebnisse." *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 58 (1999): 25.

Bauer, Hans. *Die römischen Fernstraßen zwischen IIIer und Salzach nach dem Itinerarium Antonini und der Tabula Peutingeriana. Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Routenführungen*. Geschichtswissenschaften 18. Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2007.

Bayens, Patrick James. "'Begotten of Water and Spirit' (John 3:5): Baptism in the Johannine Tradition." Ph.D. diss. Marquette University, 1993.

Becatti, Giovanni. *Scavi di Ostia. IV, Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*. Vol. 1. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1961.

Becker, H. "Prospecting in Ostia Antica (Italy) and the Discovery of the Basilica of Constantinus I. in 1996." In *Archaeological Prospection: Third International Conference on Archaeological Prospection, Munich 9.–11. September 1999*. Eds. Jörg W. E. Faßbinder. Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1999. 139–143.

Bedard, Walter M. *The Symbolism of the Baptismal Font in Early Christian Thought*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951.

BeDuhn, Jason David. "Manichaean Asceticism." In *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*. Princeton Readings in Religions. Ed. Richard Valantasis. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Beeley, Christopher A. "Divine Causality and the Monarchy of God the Father in Gregory of Nazianzus." *Harvard Theological Review* 100, no. 2 (2007): 199–214.

_____. *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Bejaoui, Fathi. "L'architecture et le décor : état des découvertes d'époque chrétienne des dix dernières années en Tunisie." *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002): 197–211.

_____. "Découvertes d'archéologie chrétienne en Tunisie." In *Actes du XI$^{e}$ Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 2. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 1927–1960.

_____. "Documents d'archéologie et d'épigraphie paléochrétiennes récemment découverts en Tunisie dans la région de Jilma." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 134, no. 1 (1990): 256–277.

_____. "La gestion des pavements de mosaïques découverts fortuitement : Déposer ou conserver *in situ*." In *Lessons Learned: Reflecting on the Theory and Practice of Mosaic Conservation. Proceedings of the 9$^{th}$ ICCM Conference, Hammamet, Tunisia, November 29–December 3, 2005* [*Leçons retenues : Les enseignements tirés des expériences passées dans le domaine de la conservation des mosaïques. Actes de la 9$^{e}$ Conférence de l'ICCM, Hammamet, Tunisie, 29 novembre–3 décembre 2005*]. Eds. Aïcha Ben Abed, Martha Demas, and Thomas Roby. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2008. 126–130.

_____. "À propos des mosaïques funéraires d'Henchir Sokrine (environ de *Lepti*

*minus*, en Byzacène).” In *L’Africa romana. Atti del IX convegno di studio Nuoro, 13–15 dicembre 1991*. Ed. Attilio Mastino. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi/ Dipartimento di Storia dell’Università degli Studi di Sassari, 1992. 329–336.

_____. “Recherche archéologique à Thélepte et ses environs : note sur les récentes découvertes.” In *Histoire des Hautes Steppes : Antiquité – Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque de Sbeïtla, Session 2001*. Ed. Fathi Bejaoui. Tunis: Institut national du patrimoine, 2003. 147–161.

Belkhodja, Khaled. “L’Afrique byzantine a la fin du VI$^{e}$ et au début du VII$^{e}$ siècle.” *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 8 (1970): 55–65.

Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. Originally published as *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*. München: C. H. Beck, 1990.

Belz, Caroline. “Marine Genre Mosaic Pavements of Roman North Africa.” Ph.D. diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1978.

Ben Abed Ben Khader, Aïcha, Michel Bonifay, Michel Fixot, and Sylvestre Roucole. “Les deux baptistères de Sidi Jdidi (Tunisie).” *Antiquité tardive* 11 (2003): 129–149.

_____. *Sidi Jdidi II. Le groupe épiscopal*. Collection de l’École française de Rome 451. Rome: École française de Rome, 2011.

_____, ed. *Stories in Stone: Conserving Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Masterpieces from the National Museums of Tunisia*. Los Angeles; Tunis: J. Paul Getty Museum; Institut national du patrimoine, 2006.

Ben Lazreg, Nejib, and Noël Duval. “Le baptistère de Békalta.” In *Carthage : l’histoire, sa trace et son echo. Les Musées de la ville de Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 9 mars–2 juillet 1995*. Paris: Paris-Musées, Association française d’action artistique, Ministère des affaires étrangères, 1995. 304–307.

Ben Mansour Besrour, Saïda. “La mosaïque d’Europe de la maison des Laberii.” *Antiquités africaines* 14 (1979): 197–211.

Ben-Pechat, Malka. “The Paleochristian Baptismal Fonts in the Holy Land: Formal and Functional Study.” *Liber Annuus* 39 (1989): 165–188.

Benoit, Fernand. “Le baptistère de Cimiez.” In *Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Ravenna, 23–30 settembre 1962*. Vol. 1. Studi di antichità cristiana 26. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1965. 147–158.

_____. “Les fouilles de Cimiez.” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 106, no. 2 (1962): 207–219.

Berger, Albrecht. *Das Bad in der byzantinischer Zeit*. Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27. Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1982.

Bergmann, Bettina. "Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis." In *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, and the Herculaneum 'Basilica'. Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplement 47. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2002), 87–121.

_____. "The Concept of Boundary in the Roman Garden." In *Le jardin dans l'antiquité : introduction et huit exposés suivis de discussions.* Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 60. Vandoeuvres: Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique, 2014. 245–300.

_____. "Staging the Supernatural: Interior Gardens of Pompeian Houses." In *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture Around the Bay of Naples. National Gallery of Art, October 19, 2008–March 22, 2009; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, May 3–October 4, 2009*. Ed. Carol C. Mattusch. Washington, D.C.; London: National Gallery of Art; Thames and Hudson, 2008. 53–69, 350–353.

Berry, Walter. "Early Christian Baptisteries of Africa Proconsularis." M.A. thesis. University of Missouri–Columbia, 1976.

Berti, Fede. *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione ottava: Ravenna*. Vol. 1. Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1976.

Beschaouch, Azedine, Roger Hanoune, and Yvon Thébert. *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 28. Rome: École française de Rome, 1977.

Biebel, Franklin M. "The Mosaics of Hammam Lif." *Art Bulletin* 18, no. 4 (1936): 540–551.

Bisconti, Fabrizio. "Absidi paleocristiane di Roma: antichi sistemi iconografici e nuove idee figurative." In *Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico (Venezia, 20–23 gennaio 1999)*. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Andrea Paribeni. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2000. 451–462.

_____. "Altre note di iconografia paradisiaca." *Bessarione* 9 (1992): 89–117.

_____. "Considerazioni iconologiche sulla decorazione musiva dei cosiddetti "oratori" di Aquileia." In *Atti del III Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaicio (Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995)*. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Genoa: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 1996. 273–287.

_____. "Interazioni tematiche e formali tra le decorazioni musive delle aule

teodoriane e dei cosiddetti oratori di Aquileia." In *Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del ducato longobardo: la cultura artistica in età romana (il secolo a.C.–III secolo d.C.). Atti della XXXV settimana di studi aquileiesi, 6–8 maggio 2004*. Eds. Giuseppe Cuscito and Monika Verzár-Bass. Trieste: Editreg, 2005. 139–154.

_____. "L'iconografia dei battisteri paleocristiani in Italia." In *L'edificio battesimale in Italia: aspetti e problemi. Atti dell'VIII Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Genova, Sarzana, Albenga, Finale Ligure, Ventimigli, 21–26 settembre 1998*. Vol. 1. Ed. Daniela Gandolfi. Genoa: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 2001. 405–440.

_____. "Letteratura patristica ed iconografia paleocristiana." In *Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia*. Ed. Antonio Quacquarelli. Rome: Città nuova, 1989. 367–412.

_____. "Sulla concezione figurativa dell''habitat' paradisiaco: a proposito di un affresco romano poco noto." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 66 (1990): 25–80.

_____. "Un fenomeno di continuità iconografica: Orfeo citaredo, Davide salmista, Cristo pastore, Adamo e gli animali." In *Cristianesimo e giudaismo: eredità e confronti, Roma, 7–9 maggio 1987, XVI Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana*. Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum," 1988. 429–436.

Blake, Marion Elizabeth. "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17 (1940): 81–130.

_____. "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 13 (1936): 67–214.

_____. *The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire*. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 8. Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930.

Blanc, Nicole. "Paradis et *hortus conclusus* : formes et sens de la clôture." In *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Ed. Éric Morvillez. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 105–130.

Blanchard, Michèle. "Fragments de mosaïques de Djerba conservés au Musée de Blois." *Antiquités africaines* 12 (1978): 217–239.

_____. "La scène de sacrifice du bouc dans la mosaïque dionysiaque de Cuicul: Étude iconographique." *Antiquités africaines* 15 (1980): 169–181.

Blanchard-Lemée, Michèle. "Myths and Decorations." In *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia*. Trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead. London: British Museum Press, 1996. 248–279.

_____. “The Sea: Fish, Ships, and Gods.” In *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia*. Trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead. London: British Museum Press, 1996. 121–145.

Bockmann, Ralf. *Capital Continuous: A Study of Vandal Carthage and Central North Africa from an Archaeological Perspective*. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 37. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013.

Boersma, Hans. “Overcoming Time and Space: Gregory of Nyssa’s Anagogical Theology.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 4 (2012): 575–612.

Bogdanović, Jelena. “Canopies: The Framing of Sacred Space in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Tradition.” Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 2008.

Boin, Douglas Ryan. “Late Antique Ostia and a Campaign for Pious Tourism: Epitaphs for Bishop Cyriacus and Monica, Mother of Augustine.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 100 (2010): 195–209.

Bolgia, Claudia. “Il mosaico absidale di San Teodoro a Roma: problemi storici e restauri attraverso disegni e documenti inediti.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): 317–351.

Bomgardner, David L. “The Carthage Amphitheater: A Reappraisal.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 1 (1989): 85–103.

_____. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000.

Bonfante, Larissa. “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 4 (1989): 543–570.

Bosio, Luciano. *La Tabula Peutingeriana: una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*. I monumenti dell’arte classica 2. Rimini: Maggioli, 1983.

Botte, B. “La sputation, antique rite baptismal?” In *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann*. Ed. Christine Mohrmann. Utrecht: Spectrum, 1963. 196–201.

Bourne, Ella. “The Messianic Prophecy in Vergil’s Fourth *Eclogue*.” *Classical Journal* 11 (1916): 390–400.

Bovini, Giuseppe. “Antichi rifacimenti nei mosaici di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna.” *Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 13 (1966): 51–81.

_____. “I mosaici della chiesa di S. Pudenziana a Roma.” *Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 18 (1971): 95–113.

Bowden, Ross. “A Critique of Alfred Gell on *Art and Agency*.” *Oceania* 74, no. 4

(2004): 309–324.

Bowden, William. "Urban Transformation in Early-Byzantine Epirus: The Example of Butrint." In *Exchange and Trade in Medieval Europe: Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference*. Vol. 3. Eds. Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaeghe. Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997. 155–169.

Bowden, William, Richard Hodges, Oliver Gilkes, Kosta Lako, and Luan Përzhita. "Butrinto: l'archeologia di una città marittima." In *L'Archeologia dell'Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo: Convegno internazionale Ravenna, 7–8–9 giugno 2001*. Centro Studi per l'Archeologia dell'Adriatico, Istituto per i Beni Artistici Culturali Naturali della Regione Emilia-Romagna. Florence: Arti grafiche, 2003. 583–599.

Bowden, William, and Luan Përzhita. "The Baptistery." In *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*. Eds. Richard Hodges, William Bowden, and Kosta Lako. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004. 176–201.

Bowe, Patrick. *Gardens of the Roman World*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004.

Bowes, Kim. *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Bradshaw, Paul F. "'Diem baptismo sollemniorem': Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity." In *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*. Ed. Maxwell E. Johnson. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995. 137–147.

_____. "Re-dating the *Apostolic Tradition*: Some Preliminary Steps." In *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.* Eds. Aidan Kavanagh, Nathan Mitchell, and John Francis Baldovin. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996. 3–17.

_____. "Who Wrote the *Apostolic Tradition*? A Response to Alistair Stewart-Sykes." *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 195–206.

_____. "Women and Baptism in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 4 (2012): 641–645.

Bradshaw, Paul F., Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.

Brandenburg, Hugo. "Die Basilica S. Paolo fuori le mura, der Apostel-Hymnus des Prudentius (Peristeph. XII) und die architektonische Ausstattung des Baues." In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 3. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 1525–1578.

_____. *Die Kirche S. Stefano Rotondo in Rom: Bautypologie und Architektursymbolik in der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Architektur*. Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen 2. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998.

Brandenburg, Hugo, Letizia Ermini Pani, and Palmira Maria Barbini, eds. *Cimitile e Paolino di Nola: la tomba di S. Felice e il centro di pellegrinaggio, trent'anni di ricerche. Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana, École française de Rome, 9 marzo 2000*. Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2003.

Brandt, Olof. *Battisteri oltre la pianta. Gli alzati di nove battisteri paleocristiani in Italia*. Studi di Antichità Cristiana 64. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2012.

_____. "Il battistero lateranense dell'imperatore Costantino e l'architettura contemporanea: come si crea un'architettura battesimale cristiana?" In *Late Antiquity: Art in Context*. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Acta Hyperborea 8. Eds. Jens Fleischer, John Lund, and Marjatta Nielsen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2001. 117–144.

_____. "Deer, Lambs and Water in the Lateran Baptistery." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 81 (2005): 131–156.

_____. "The Early Christian Baptistery of St. Peter's." Paper presented at the British School at Rome conference "Old St Peter's," Rome, Italy, March 17, 2010.

_____. "L'enigmata muratura 'B' del Battistero di Albenga." In *Marmoribus vestita: miscellanea in onore di Federico Guidobaldi*, vol. 1. Studi di antichità cristiana 63. Eds. Olof Brandt and Philippe Pergola. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2011. 263–286.

_____. "Ipotesi sulla struttura del battistero lateranense tra Costantino e Sisto III." In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 2. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 923–932.

_____. "The Lateran Baptistery and the Diffusion of Octagonal Baptisteries from Rome to Constantinople." In *Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel: Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archeologiae Christianae, Vindobonae 19.–26. 9. 1999*. Vol. 1. Ed. Reinhardt Harreither. Vatican City; Vienna: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006. 221–227.

_____. "Osservazioni sul battistero paleocristiano di Nocera Superiore." *Opuscula romana* 31–32 (2006–2007): 189–202.

_____. “Strutture del IV secolo per la lavanda dei piedi in due battisteri romani.” *Arte medievali* 2 (2003): 137–144.

Brandt, Olof, et al. “Photomodelling as an Instrument for Stratigraphic Analysis of Standing Buildings: The Baptistery of Albenga.” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 90 (2014): 259–293.

Branham, Joan R. “Mapping Sacrifice on Bodies and Spaces in Late-Antique Judaism and Early Christianity.” In *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Eds. Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 201–230.

Brecciaroli Taborelli, Luisa. “Le terme della ‘Regio VII’ a Sabratha.” *Libya Antiqua* 11–12 (1974–1975), 113–146.

Brenk, Beat. *The Apse, the Image and the Icon: An Historical Perspective of the Apse as a Space for Images*. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 26. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010.

_____. “La christianisation d’Ostie.” In *Ostia : port et porte de la Rome antique*. Ed. Jean-Paul Descœudres. Geneva; Paris: Musées d’art et d’histoire; Georg Editeur, 2001. 262–271.

_____. “Microstoria sotto la Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata.” *Rivista dell’Istituto nazionale d’archeologia e storia dell’arte* 18 (1995): 169–206.

_____. “Visibility and (Partial) Invisibility of Early Christian Images.” In *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Papers from “Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000” (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 14. Eds. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005. 139–183.

_____. “Zur Apsis als Bildort.” In *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*. Medieval Mediterranean 70. Eds. Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007. 15–29.

Brenk, Beat, and Patrizio Pensabene. “Christliche Basilika oder christliche ‘Domus der Tigriniani’?” *Boreas* 21–22 (1998–1999): 271–299.

Brenk, F. E. “Greek Epiphanies and Paul on the Road to Damaskos.” In *The Notion of “Religion” in Comparative Research: Selected Proceedings of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome, 3rd–8th September, 1990*. Ed. Ugo Bianchi. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1994. 415–424.

Breschi, Maria Grazia. *La Cattedrale ed il Battistero degli Ariani a Ravenna*.

Università degli Studi di Bologna, Istituto di Antichità Ravennati e Bizantine 6. Ravenna: Edizioni "Dante" di A. Longo, 1965.

Brett, Michael. "The Arab Conquest and the Rise of Islam in North Africa." In *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Vol. 2, *c. 500 BC–AD 1050*. Ed. J. D. Fage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978. 490–555.

Brock, Sebastian. "The Baptismal Anointings According to the Anonymous *Expositio Officiorum*." *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 1, no. 1 (1998).

Bröder, Erika. *Die römischen Thermen und das antike Badewesen: Ein kulturhistorische Betrachtung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983.

Brown, Peter. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101.

Brubaker, Leslie. "The Relationship of Text and Image in the Byzantine Mss. of Cosmas Indicopleustes." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70 (1977): 42–57.

Brune, Karl-Heinz. "Der Pfau in der koptischen Kunst." In *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August–2 September 2000*. Vol. 2. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 133. Eds. Mat Immerzeel and Jacques van der Vliet. Leuven, Paris: Uitgeveru Peeters and the Departement Oosterse Studies, 2004. 1185–1203.

Bryant, Rees Odell. "The Role of Baptism in Pauline Theology of Conversion." D.Miss. diss. Fuller Theological Seminary, 1990.

Bugg, Laura Elizabeth. "Baptism, Bodies, and Bonds: The Rhetoric of Empire in Colossians." Th.D. diss. Harvard Divinity School, 2006.

Buhler, F. M. *Les baptistères en France : de l'époque paléochrétienne à la période romane. Inventaire descriptif*. Mulhouse: Centre de culture chrétienne, 1975.

Burnett Grossman, Janet, and Kristin Kelly. "Introduction." In *Stories in Stone: Conserving Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Masterpieces from the National Museums of Tunisia*. Ed. Aïcha Ben Abed. Los Angeles; Tunis: J. Paul Getty Museum; Institut national du patrimoine, 2006. 1–10.

Burns Jr., J. Patout, and Robin M. Jensen. *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014.

Burrafato, Salvatore. "Due pitture con scene 'paradisiache' nelle catacombe siracusane." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 78 (2002): 119–143.

Burris, Ronald D. "Where Is the Church? The Sacrament of Baptism in the Teaching

of Cyprian, Parmenian, Petilian and Augustine." Ph.D. diss. Graduate Theological Union, 2002.

Burzachechi, Mario. "L'iscrizione cristiana della 'Basilica' di Ostia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 30–31 (1957–1959): 177–187.

_____. "Nuove osservazioni sull'epigrafe cristiana della basilica di Ostia." *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 59 (1964): 103–106.

Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative.* New York, London: Routledge, 1997.

Butler, Shane, and Alex C. Purves, eds. *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses.* Durham: Acumen, 2013.

Butterworth, G. W. "Clement of Alexandria and Art." *Journal of Theological Studies* 17, no. 1 (1915): 68–76.

Cagnana, Aurora, et al. "Metodi di datazione delle opere murarie dei battisteri paleocristiani." In *L'edificio battesimale in Italia*. Vol. 2. Ed. Daniela Gandolfi. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2001. 867–889

Cagnat, R. "C. Julius Crescens Didius Crescentianus: Fondateur de la basilique Julia, à Djemila (Algérie)." *Revue des études anciennes* 22 (1920): 97–103.

Cagnat, R., and Alfred Merlin. *Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie. Édition spéciale des cartes topographiques publiées par le Ministère de la Guerre*. 2nd series. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1926.

Caillet, Jean-Pierre, et al. *Salona IV : inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe–VIIe siècles*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 194/4. Rome; Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 2010.

Callahan, John F. "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958): 29–57.

Calza, Guido. "Ancora sulla basilica cristiana di Ostia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 18 (1942): 135–148.

_____. "Le memorie del Cristianesimo a Ostia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 21 (1946): 3.

_____. "Nuove testimonianze del Cristianesimo a Ostia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 25–26 (1951): 123–138.

_____. "Una basilica di età costantiniana scoperta ad Ostia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 16 (1940): 63–88.

Calza, Raissa. “Le sculture e la probabile zona cristiana di Ostia e di Porto.” *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 37 (1964–1965): 155–257.

Cameron, Alan. “On the Date of John of Gaza.” *Classical Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1993): 348–351.

Campanati, Raffaella Farioli, ed. *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale, IV–X secolo: il ruolo dell’autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche. Atti del convegno internazionale, Bologna-Ravenna, 26–29 novembre 2007*. Bologna: Ante Quem, 2009.

Camps, Gabriel. “Nouvelles observations sur l’architecture et l’âge du Medracen, mausolée royal de Numidie.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 117, no. 3 (1973): 470–517.

Canivet, Pierre. “Le Bestiaire adamique dans les mosaïques de Hūarte (Syrie, fin Ve s.) : le symbolisme du Griffon.” In *L’animal, l’homme, le dieu dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1981*. Les Cahiers de CEPOA 2. Leuven: Peeters, 1984. 145–154.

_____. “A Church with Mosaics at Huarte in Apamena, Syria.” *Archaeology* 25 (1972): 62–67.

_____. “Peintures murales et mosaïques d’abside en verre à Huarte (IVe–Ve s.).” In *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye*. Université libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres 83. Eds. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich and Georges Raepsaet. Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1982. 313–334.

Canivet, Maria-Teresa, and Pierre Canivet. *Huarte. Sanctuaire chrétien d’Apamène (IVe–VIe s.)*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 122. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1987.

_____. “La Licorne dans les mosaïques de Hūarte d’Apamène (Syrie, IVe–Ve siècles).” *Byzantion* 49 (1979): 57–87.

_____. “La mosaïque d’Adam dans l’église syrienne de Hūarte.” *Cahiers archéologiques* 24 (1975): 49–70.

Canter, H. V. “Roman Civilization in North Africa.” *Classical Journal* 35, no. 4 (1940): 197–208.

Canuti, Gabriele. “Iconografie inconsuete nei mosaici pavimentali della zona sacra nel Vicino Oriente (*Riassunto*).” *Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 42 (1995): 143–152.

Caputo, Giacomo. *Il teatro di Sabratha e l’architettura teatrale africana*. Monografie di archeologia libica 6. Rome: Bretschneider, 1959.

Caraher, William R. “Church, Society, and the Sacred in Early Christian Greece.”

Ph.D. diss. The Ohio State University, 2003.

Carcopino, Jérôme. "Note additionnelle à la communication de M. Albertini du 27 août 1943, 'Une nouvelle basilique civile à Cuicul (Djemila).'" *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 87, no. 3 (1943): 387–395.

Carpiceci, Alberto Carlo, and Richard Krautheimer. "Nuovi dati sull'antica basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano, Parte I." *Bollettino d'arte* 93 (1995): 1–70.

_____. "Nuovi dati sull'antica basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano, Parte II." *Bollettino d'arte* 95 (1996): 1–84.

Carrara, Francesco. *De' scavi di Salona nel 1848*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 2, Abteiling 2 (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1851).

Castelfranchi, Marina Falla. *ΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ: intorno ai più noti battisteri dell'Oriente*. Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica 1, Università degli Studi "G. d'Annunzio" Chieti. Rome: Libreria Editrice Viella, 1980.

_____. "L'edificio battesimale: architettura, ritualità, sistemi idraulici." In *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 1173–1236.

Cèbe, Jean-Pierre. "Une fontaine monumentale récemment découverte a Sufetula (Byzacène)." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 69 (1957): 163–206.

Ceka, Hasan, and Bep Jubani. "Fouilles archéologiques 1970–1971 en Albanie." *Bulletin d'archéologie sud-est européenne* 3 (1975): 11–25.

Chadwick, Henry. *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Chan, Frank. "Baptismal Typology in Melito of Sardis' *Peri Pascha*: A Study in the Interpretation of Exodus 12 in the Second Century." Ph.D. diss. Westminster Theological Seminary, 2001.

Chardon, Henri. "Fouilles de Rusguniae." *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1900): 129–149.

Chevalier, P., et al. *Salona I: Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 194. Eds. N. Duval, E. Marin, and C. Metzger. Rome; Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 1994.

Chidiroglou, Maria. "Karystian Marble Trade in the Roman Mediterranean Region.

An Overview of Old and New Data." In *XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 22–26 Sept. 2008*, *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line* 1 (2010): 48–56.

Choi, Bong Soo. "Justin Martyr's Baptism and the Ancient Mystery Religions: A Textual and Religio-Historical Analysis of Their Relationship." Ph.D. diss. Temple University, 2002.

Christe, Yves. "À propos du décor absidal de Saint-Jean du Latran a Rome." *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 197–206.

_____. "À propos du sarcophage a double registre récemment découvert à Arles." *Journal des savants* 1 (1975): 76–80.

Christern, Jürgen. *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa. Architektur und Ornamentik einer spätantiken Bauhütte in Nordafrika*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976.

Christiansen, Ellen Juhl. "Women and Baptism." *Studia Theologica* 35 (1981): 1–8.

Cintas, J., and N. Duval. "L'église du prêtre Félix (région de Kélibia)." *Karthago* 9 (1958): 155–268.

Clark, Travis Lee. "Imaging the Cosmos: The *Christian Topography* by Kosmas Indikopleustes." Ph.D. diss. Temple University, 2008.

Clarke, John R. "Constructing the Spaces of Epiphany in Ancient Greek and Roman Visual Culture." In *Text, Image and Christians in a Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 176. Eds. Aliou Cissé Niang and Carolyn Osiek. Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 2011. 257–279.

_____. "Neptune and His Quadriga: The Diffusion of a Motif in the Black-and-White Mosaics of Italy." In *VI Coloquio internacional sobre mosaico antiguo, Palencia-Mérida, Octubre 1990*. Eds. Juan José Lucas, José María Soriano Llamazares, and Jesús Mañueco Alonso. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994. 309–316.

_____. *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics*. Monographs on Archaeology and the Fine Arts 35. New York: New York University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1979.

Cline, Lea K. "Imitation vs. Reality: Zebra Stripe Paintings in the Fourth Style at Oplontis." In *Antike Malerei zwischen Lokalstil und Zeitstil*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Archäologische Forschungen 23. Ed. Norbert Zimmerman. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014. 565–570.

_____. "Painted Pavements: Illusion and Imitation at Villa A ('of Poppaea') at

Oplontis." In *Beyond Iconography: Materials, Methods, and Meaning in Ancient Surface Decoration*. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 1. Eds. Sarah Lepinsky and Susanna McFadden. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2015. 205–218.

Coarelli, Filippo, and Yvon Thébert. "Architecture funéraire et pouvoir : réflexions sur l'hellénisme numide." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 100, no. 2 (1988): 761–818.

Coccia, Stefano, and Lidia Paroli. "La basilica di Pianabella di Ostia Antica nelle sue relazioni con il paesaggio fra tardo antico ed Alto Medioevo." *Archeologia laziale* 9 (1990): 177–181.

_____. "Ostia Antica. Località Pianabella: la basilica cristiana." *Bollettino di archeologia* 2 (1990): 214–217.

Coleman, K. M. "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments." *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 44–73.

Coleman, Simon, and John Elsner. "The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai." *World Archaeology* 26, no. 1 (1994): 73–89.

Collins, Roger. "Continuity and Loss in Medieval Spanish Culture: The Evidence of MS Silos, Archivo Monástico 4." In *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*. Eds. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002. 1–22.

Colvin, Howard. *Architecture and the After-Life.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Conant, Jonathan P. "Europe and the African Cult of Saints, circa 350–900: An Essay in Mediterranean Communications." *Speculum* 85, no. 1 (2010): 1–46.

Conybeare, F. C., and A. J. MacLean, eds. *Rituale Armenorum: Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church, Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss. and the East Syrian Epiphany Rites*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

Coquet, Jean. "Identifications proposées: le cerf baptismal de Poitiers; une église du VI$^{e}$ siècle fouillée à Périgné (Deux-Sèvres)." *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1980): 104–108.

Corrado Goulet, Crispin. "The 'Zebra Stripe' Design: An Investigation of Roman Wall Painting in the Periphery." *Rivisti di studi pompeiani* 12–13 (2001–2002): 53–94.

Corrigan, Kathleen. "Visualizing the Divine: An Early Byzantine Icon of the 'Ancient

of Days' at Mount Sinai." In *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*. 2010. 285–303.

Cosentino, Augusto. "Il battesimo a Roma: edifici e liturgia." In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 1. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 109–142.

Courtois, Christian. "Baptistère découvert au Cap Bon (Tunisie)." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 100, no. 2 (1956): 138–143.

_____. "Sur un baptistère découvert dans la région de Kélibia." *Karthago* 6 (1955): 97–126.

_____. *Timgad, antique Thamvgadi*. Algiers, Service des antiquités, 1951.

Cox Miller, Patricia. *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

_____. "On the Edge of Self and Other: Holy Bodies in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17, no. 2 (2009): 171–193.

_____. "Visceral Seeing: The Holy Body in Late Ancient Christianity." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12, no. 4 (2004): 391–411.

Cremascoli, Giuseppe. "Simbologia e teologia battesimali." In *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 1147–1172.

Croisier, Jérôme. "L'Hypogée de via Livenza à Rome. Nouvelles questions." Mémoire de Licence. Université de Lausanne, 2003.

_____. "Pitture e mosaici dell'ipogeo di via Livenza." In *La pittura medievale a Roma, 312–1431: Corpus*. Vol. 1. Eds. Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano. Milan: Jaca Book, 2006. 253–258.

Cross, Richard. "Perichoresis, Deification, and Christological Predication in John of Damascus." *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000): 69–124.

Crow, James. "Water and Late Antique Constantinople." In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Eds. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. 116–135.

Cupane, Carolina. "Il ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΣ ΠΙΝΑΞ di Giovanni di Gaza. Una proposta di ricostruzione." *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979): 195–207.

Ćurčić, Slobodan. “Divine Light: Constructing the Immaterial in Byzantine Art and Architecture.” In *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Eds. Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 307–337.

Curtin, Timothy A. “The Baptismal Liturgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia.” Th.D. diss. Catholic University of America, 1970.

Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana. Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир. Belgrade: Faculté de Philosophie, Institut d’Histoire de l’Art, 1978.

Daniélou, Jean. *The Bible and the Liturgy*. Liturgical Studies 3. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1951.

_____. *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*. Trans. Wulstan Hibberd. London: Burns & Oates, 1960. Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1950.

Dassmann, Ernst. *Sündenvergebung durch Taufe, Buße und Martyrerfürbitte in den Zeugnissen frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit und Kunst*. Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie 36. Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1973.

David, Massimiliano. “I mosaici parietali tardoantichi di Milano. Novità, revisioni, problemi.” In *VI Coloquio internacional sobre mosaico antiguo, Palencia-Mérida, Octubre 1990*. Eds. Juan José Lucas, José María Soriano Llamazares, and Jesús Mañueco Alonso. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994. 115–121.

David-Roy, Marguerite. “Les baptistères de la Gaule.” *Archeologia* 135 (1979): 51–59.

Davies, J. G. *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962.

_____. “The Arian and Orthodox Baptisteries at Salona.” *Antiquity* 33 (1959): 57–60.

Davies, Penelope J. E. *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Davis, Nathan. *Carthage and Her Remains: Being an Account of the Excavations and Researches on the Site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, and Other Adjacent Places. Conducted under the Auspices of Her Majesty’s Government*. London: Richard Bentley, 1861.

Davis-Weyer, Caecilia, ed. *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

Day, Juliette. *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt*. Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.

de Bernardi Ferrero, Daria. "Il battistero di Canosa nel quadro dell'architettura dell'Europa bizantina." *Puglia paleocristiana* 3 (1979): 163–176.

de Blaauw, Sible. *Cultus et Decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*. 2 vols. Trans. Maria Beatrice Anniss. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Studi e testi 355–356. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994.

_____. "Das Fastigium der Lateranbasilika: Schöpferische Innovation, Unikat oder Paradigma?" In *Innovation in der Spätantike: Kolloquium Basel 6. und 7. Mai 1994*. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 1. Ed. Beat Brenk. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1996. 53–65.

_____. "Imperial Connotations in Roman Church Interiors: The Significance and Effect of the Lateran *Fastigium*." *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 15 (2001): 137–146.

De Bruyne, L. "La décoration des baptistères paléochrétiens." In *Actes du Ve Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence, 13–19 septembre 1954*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1957. 341–369.

de Castris, Pierluigi Leone. "I mosaici del battistero di San Giovanni in fonte nel duomo di Napoli. La letteratura, i restauri antichi e quello attuale." In *Mosaici a S. Vitale e altri restauri: il restauro in situ di mosaici parietali. Atti del Convegno nazionale sul restauro in situ di mosaici parietali, Ravenna, 1–3 ottobre 1990*. Eds. Anna Maria Iannucci, Cesare Fiori, and Cetty Muscolino. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1992. 203–212.

de Grammont, H.-D. "Inscriptions provenant de la ville de Tipasa." *Revue africaine* 27 (1883): 160.

de' Maffei, Fernanda. "L'Unigenito consustanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai. II." *Storia dell'arte* 46 (1982): 185–200.

de Nie, Giselle. "'*Divinos Concipe Sensus*': Envisioning Divine Wonders in Paulinus of Nola and Gregory of Tours." In *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000" (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 14. Eds. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005. 69–117.

de Nie, Giselle, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert, eds. *Seeing the Invisible in*

*Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000" (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

de Pachtère, Félix-Georges. *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*. Vol. 3, *Algérie*. Paris: Leroux, 1911.

de Rossi, Giovanni Battista. *Inscriptiones Christianae Vrbis Romae septimo saecvlo antiqviores*. Vol. 1. Rome: Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1861.

_____. *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae saeculo septimo antiquiores*. Vol. 2. Rome: Sede della Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1888.

_____. "Insigne vetro, sul quale è effigiato il battesimo d'una fanciulla, ed oratorio domestico scoperti nel Monte della Giustizia presso le terme diocleziane." *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 3, no. 1 (1876): 7–15.

_____. *Le prime raccolte d'antiche iscrizioni compilate in Roma tra il finire del secolo XIV e il cominciare del XV*. Rome: Tipografia delle BelleArti, 1852.

_____, ed. *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi: Recueil de travaux. Publiés par l'École française de Rome en l'honneur de M. le commandeur Giovanni Battista de Rossi*. Supplément aux Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 12. Paris; Rome: Ernest Thorin Libraire Éditeur; Spithöver, 1892.

_____. "Oratorio privato del secolo quarto: Scoperto nel Monte della Giustizia presso le terme Diocleziane." *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 3, no. 1 (1876): 37–58.

de Villefosse, Antoine Héron. "Premier rapport sur les fouilles du lieutenant Marius Boyé à Sbeïtla, *Sufetula* (Tunisie)." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 28, no. 3 (1884): 369–373.

de Waal, A. "Die Taufe Christi auf vorconstantinischen Gemälden der Katakomben." *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 10 (1896): 335–349.

Deichmann, Wilhelm Friedrich, Giuseppe Bovini, and Hugo Brandenburg. *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*. Vol. 1, *Rom und Ostia*. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1967.

Dekkers, Eligius. "'*Symbolo baptizare*.'" In *Fides sacramenti, sacramentum fidei: Studies in Honour of Pieter Smulders*. Eds. Hans Jörg Auf der Maur, Leo Bakker, Annewies van de Bunt, and Joop Waldram. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981. 107–112.

Delahaye, Karl. *Ecclesia Mater chez les pères des trois premiers siècles : pour un renouvellement de la pastorale d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964.

DeLaine, J., and D. E. Johnston, eds. *Roman Baths and Bathing: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths Held at Bath, England, 30 March–4 April 1992*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 37. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999.

Delattre, R. P. "Les fouilles de Bir-Ftouha." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 73, no. 1 (1929): 23–29.

_____. "Lettre sur les fouilles de Bir-Ftouha (Carthage)." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 72, no. 3 (1928): 252–255.

Deliyannis, Deborah Mauskopf. *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

della Dora, Veronica. "Gardens of Eden and Ladders to Heaven: Holy Mountain Geographies in Byzantium." In *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*. Ed. Keith D. Lilley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 271–299.

Demus, Otto. "Zu den Apsismosaiken von Sant'Apollinare in Classe." In *Studies in Byzantium, Venice and the West*. Eds. Otto Demus and Irmgard Hutter. London: Pindar Press, 1998. 127–135. Originally published in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 18 (1969): 229–238.

Deneffe, August. "Perichoresis, circumincessio, circuminsessio. Eine terminologische Untersuchung." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 47, no. 4 (1923): 497–532.

Dennis, Nathan S. "Living Water, Living Presence: Animating Sacred Space in the Early Christian Baptistery." In *The Life-Giving Source. Water in the Hierotopy and Iconography of the Christian World*. Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow, forthcoming.

Denysenko, Nicholas. "The Blessing of Waters on the Feast of Theophany in the Byzantine Rite: Historical Formation and Theological Implications." Ph.D. diss. Catholic University of America, 2008.

DePuma, Richard Daniel. "The Roman Fish Mosaic." Ph.D. diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1969.

Diehl, Ernst. *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925.

Dinkler, Erich. *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe*. Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 29. Cologne, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962.

Dirven, Lucinda. "Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained: The Meaning of Adam and Eve in the Baptistery of Dura-Europos." *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008): 43–57.

_____. “Religious Competition and the Decoration of Sanctuaries: The Case of Dura-Europos.” *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004): 1–20.

Djuric, Srdjan. “Ateni and the Rivers of Paradise in Byzantine Art.” Зограф 20 (1989): 22–29.

Dölger, Franz J. “Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer als Sinnbild der christlichen Taufe. Zum Oxyrhynchos-Papyrus Nr. 840.” *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 2 (1930): 63–69.

_____. *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie.* Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 3. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1909.

_____. “Die Inschrift im Baptisterium S. Giovanni in Fonte an der Lateranensischen Basilika aus der Zeit Xystus’ III (432–440) und die Symbolik des Taufbrunnens bei Leo dem Großen.” *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 2 (1930): 252–257.

_____. “Heidnische Begrüßung und christliche Verhöhnung der Heidentempel. *Despuere* und *exsufflare* in der Dämonenbeschwörung. Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu Tertullian De idololatria 11.” *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 3 (1932): 192–203.

_____. *Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihren Beziehungen zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums*. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 3/4. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh., 1911.

_____. “Zur Symbolik des altchristlichen Taufhauses. Das Oktogon und die Symbolik der Achtzahl. Die Inschrift des hl. Ambrosius im Baptisterium der Theklakirche von Mailand.” *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 4 (1934): 153–187.

Donceel-Voûte, Pauline. *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie*. 2 vols. Publications d’Histoire de l’Art et d’Archéologie de l’Université Catholique de Louvain 69. Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art, Collège Érasme, 1988.

Donnadieu, A. “Le baptistère de Fréjus (Var). Sa filiation orientale, sa piscine carolingienne.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 88, no. 2 (1944): 277–291.

Downey, Glanville. “John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and the Karpoi.” In *Antioch on-the-Orontes, II: The Excavations 1933–1936*. Vol. 2. Eds. George W. Elderkin et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938. 205–212.

Downing, Caroline J. “Wall Paintings from the Baptistery at Stobi, Macedonia, and

Early Depictions of Christ and the Evangelists." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998): 259–280.

Downs, Joan Marguerite. "The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town." Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 2007.

Drake, H. A. *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance.* Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Drappier, Louis. "Les thermes de Thuburbo Majus." *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1920): 55–75.

Drewer, Lois. "Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters." *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 533–547.

Duchesne, Louis. *Le Liber pontificalis : texte, introduction et commentaire*. Vol. 1. Paris: E. Thorin, 1886.

Dufay, Bruno. "À propos du baptême: l'évêque, la ville et la campagne. Le cas de la Syrie." In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 1. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 637–650.

Dunbabin, Katherine M. D. "*Baiarum grata voluptas*: Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57 (1989): 6–46.

_____. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

_____. *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

_____. "The Triumph of Dionysus on Mosaics in North Africa." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 39 (1971): 52–65.

Durand, Emmanuel. *La périchorèse des personnes divines. Immanence mutuelle, réciprocité et communion*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2005.

_____. "Perichoresis: A Key Concept for Balancing Trinitarian Theology." In *Rethinking Trinitarian Theology: Disputed Questions and Contemporary Issues in Trinitarian Theology*. Eds. Giulio Maspero and Robert J. Wozniak. London: T & T Clark International, 2012. 177–192.

Duval, Noël. "Encore les 'monuments à auges' d'Afrique: Tébessa Khalia, Hr Faraoun." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 88, no. 2 (1976): 929–959.

_____. "Études d'archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine, XVII : une nouvelle cuve

baptismale dans le centre de Carthage." *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 34, no. 1 (1988): 86–92.

_____. "Études d'architecture chrétienne nord-africaine." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 84, no. 2 (1972): 1071–1172.

_____. "Inscriptions byzantines de Sbeitla (Tunisie) III." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 83, no. 2 (1971): 423–443.

_____. "L'Afrique dans l'Antiquité tardive et la période byzantine: l'évolution de l'architecture et de l'art dans leur environnement." *Antiquité tardive* 14 (2006): 119–164.

_____. "L'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum oriental au VI$^{e}$ siècle." In *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque de Rome (12–14 mai 1982)*. Publications de l'École française de Rome 77. Rome: École française de Rome, 1984. 399–481.

_____. *La mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien*. Ravenna: Longo, 1976.

_____. "La représentation du Palais dans l'art du Bas-Empire et haut Moyen Age d'après le Psautier d'Utrecht." *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965): 244–247.

_____. "Le choeur de l'église de Siagu (Tunisie). Études d'archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine: XII." *Felix Ravenna* 127 (1984): 159–199.

_____. "Le culte des martyrs de Salone à la lumière des recherches récentes à Manastirine." *Comptes-rendus séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 134, no. 2 (1990): 432–453.

_____. "Le destin des mosaïques de l'église de Rusguniae (Matifou ou Tamentfoust): Deux fragments nouveaux." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 97, no. 2 (1985): 1113–1129.

_____. "Le dossier de l'église d'El Mouassat (au sud-ouest de Sfax, Tunisie)." *Antiquités africaines* 8 (1974): 157–173.

_____. "Le dossier du groupe épiscopal de Bulla Regia." *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1969): 207–235.

_____. "L'église de l'évêque Melleus a Haïdra (Tunisie): La campagne franco-tunisienne de 1967." *Comptes-rendus séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 112, no. 2 (1968): 221–244.

_____. "L'église V (des Saints-Gervais-Protais-et-Tryphon) à Sbeitla (*Sufetula*), Tunisie: Recherches de 1954–1963." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 111, no. 2 (1999): 927–989.

_____. "L'état actuel des recherches archéologiques sur Carthage chrétienne.

Études d'archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine, XXV." *Antiquité tardive* 5 (1997): 309–350.

_____. "L'évêque et la cathédrale en Afrique du Nord." In *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 1. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 345–403.

_____. "Les baptistères d'Acholla (Tunisie) et l'origine des baptistères polylobés en Afrique du Nord." Études d'archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine 9. *Antiquités africaines* 15 (1980): 329–343.

_____. "Les Byzantins à Rusguniae." In *Actes du IIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord : réuni dans le cadre du 108e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Grenoble, 5–9 avril 1983)*. Ed. Serge Lancel. Paris: CTHS, 1985. 341–360.

_____. *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord.* Vol. 1, *Recherches archéologiques à Sbeitla, I. Les basiliques de Sbeitla à deux sanctuaires opposés (Basiliques I, II et IV)*. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 218. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1971.

_____. *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord.* Vol. 2, *Inventaire des monuments – Interprétation*. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 218. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1973.

_____. "Les églises d'Haïdra (églises dites de Melléus et de Candidus et 'chapelle vandale'). Recherches franco-tunisiennes de 1969." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 113, no. 3 (1969): 409–436.

_____. "Les églises d'Haïdra. III: L'église de la citadelle et l'architecture byzantine en Afrique." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 115, no. 1 (1971): 136–166.

_____. "Les églises d'Haïdra VI: la basilique des martyrs de la persécution de Dioclétien. Bilan de la campagne 1983." *Comptes rendus des séances, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1 (1989): 129–173.

_____. "Les églises doubles d'Afrique du Nord." *Antiquité tardive* 4 (1996): 179–188.

_____. "Les monuments d'époque chrétienne en Cyrénaïque à la lumière des recherches récentes." In *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 3. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 2743–2796.

_____. “Les recherches d’épigraphie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord (1962–1972).” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité* 85, no. 1 (1973): 335–344.

_____. “Notes bibliographiques sur l’Afrique.” In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l’École française de Rome 123. Vol. 3. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 2797–2806.

_____. “Notes d’épigraphie chrétienne africaine.” *Karthago* 9 (1958): 137–153.

_____. “Que savons-nous du palais de Théodoric a Ravenne?” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 72 (1960): 337–371.

_____. “Sufetula: L’histoire d’une ville romaine de la haute-steppe à la lumière des recherches récentes.” In *L’Afrique dans l’Occident romain: Ier siècle av. J.-C.–IVe siècle ap. J.-C. Actes du colloque*. Publications de l’École française de Rome 134. Rome: École française de Rome, 1990. 495–535.

Duval, Noël, and François Baratte. *Les ruines de Sufetula: Sbeïtla*. Tunis: Société Tunisienne de Diffusion, 1973.

Duval, Noël, François Baratte, and Jean-Claude Golvin. “Les églises d’Haïdra VI: La basilique des martyrs de la persécution de Dioclétien. Bilan de la campagne 1983.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 133, no. 1 (1989): 129–173.

Duval, Noël, Jean-Pierre Caillet, Pascale Chevalier, and Alexandra Lorquin. *Basiliques chrétiennes d’Afrique du Nord I: Inventaire de l’Algérie*. Vol. 2, Illustrations. Collection des Études Augustiniennes 130. Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1992.

Duval, Noël, and Jean Cintas. “Le martyrium de Cincari et les martyria triconques et tétraconques en Afrique.” Études d’architecture chrétienne nord-africaine 3. *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité* 88, no. 2 (1976): 853–927.

_____. “Basiliques et mosaïques funéraires de Furnos Minus.” Études d’archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine 6. *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité* 90, no. 2 (1978): 871–950.

Duval, Noël, and J.-C. Golvin. “Haïdra a l’époque chrétienne. IV: Le monument a auges et les bâtiments similaires.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 116, no. 1 (1972): 133–172.

Duval, Noël, and Michel Janon. “Le dossier des églises d’Hr Guesseria: Redécouverte du rapport Carbuccia (1849) et de l’aquarelle originale de la mosaïque; une fouille partielle en 1908?” Études d’archéologie chrétienne nord-africaine 14.

*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 97, no. 2 (1985): 1079–1112.

Duval, N., M. Jeremic, J. Guyon, G. Cardi, V. Kondic, C. Metzger, V. Popovic, and J. Werner. *Caricin Grad I: Les basiliques B et J de Caricin Grad. Quatre objets remarquables de Caricin Grad. Le trésor de Hajducka Vodenica*. Eds. Noël Duval and Vladislav Popovic. Belgrade; Rome: Institut archéologique de Belgrade; École française de Rome, 1984.

Duval, Noël, Serge Lancel, and Yann Le Bohec. "Études sur la garnison de Carthage. Deux documents nouveaux — Les troupes de Proconsulaire — Le camp de la cohorte urbaine." *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 15–16 (1979–1980): 33–89.

Duval, Noël, and Alexandre Lézine. "La chapelle funéraire souterraine dite d'Astérius a Carthage." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 71 (1959): 339–357.

Duval, Noël, and Françoise Prévot. *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra. I: Les inscriptions chrétiennes*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 18. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1975.

Duval, Yvette. "Nice – Cimiez." In *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule, des origines au milieu du VIII^e^ siècle*. Vol. 2, *Provinces ecclésiastiques d'Aix et d'Embrun (Narbonensis Secunda et Alpes Maritimae)*. Eds. Nancy Gauthier and Jean-Charles Picard. Paris: De Boccard, 1986. 77–88.

Ebanista, Carlo. "I mosaici parietali nell'edicola della basilica di S. Felice a Cimitile: tratti inediti e contesto." In *Atti del V Colloquio l'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico (Roma, 3–6 novembre 1997)*. Ed. Federico Guidobaldi and Andrea Paribeni. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1998. 409–434.

_____. "L'edicola mosaicata nella basilica di S. Felice a Cimitile: nuovi dati e vicende conservative." *Atti del VI Colloquio l'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico (Venezia, 20–23 gennaio 1999)*. Ed. Federico Guidobaldi and Andrea Paribeni. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1998. 411–424.

_____. "Paolino di Nola e l'introduzione della campana in Occidente." In *Dal fuoco all'aria: Tecniche, significati e prassi nell'uso delle campane dal Medioevo all'Età Moderna*. Eds. Fabio Redi and Giovanna Petrella. Pisa: Pacini Editore, 2007. 325–353.

Echle, Harry A. "The Baptism of the Apostles: A Fragment of Clement of Alexandria's Lost Work ΄Υποτυπώσεις in the Pratum Spirituale of John Moschus." *Traditio* 3 (1945): 365–368.

Egan, John P. "Primal Cause and Trinitarian Perichoresis in Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration* 31.14." *Studia Patristica* 27 (1991): 21–28.

_____. "Towards Trinitarian Perichoresis: Saint Gregory the Theologian, Oration 31.14." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 39, no. 1 (1994): 83–93.

Eichberg, Barbara Bruderer. "Die Erneuerung des Lateranbaptisteriums durch Sixtus III. (432–440) als Sinnbild päpstlicher Tauftheologie und Taufpolitik. Die Apsismosaiken des Vestibüls und das Taufgedicht Sixtus' III." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 30 (2003): 7–34.

Eizenhöfer, Leo, Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, and Petrus Siffrin, eds. *Liber sacramentorum romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. nat. 7193, 41/56, Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*. Ecclesiasticarum Documenta 4. Rome: Herder, 1960.

El Bekri. *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*. Trans. William MacGuckin de Slane. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1859.

Elsner, Jaś. *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

_____. "Cultural Resistance and the Visual Image: The Case of Dura Europos." *Classical Philology* 96, no. 3 (2001): 269–304.

_____. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire, AD 100–450*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

_____. "Material Culture and Ritual: State of the Question." In *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Eds. Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 1–26.

Elsner, Jaś, and Ian Rutherford, eds. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Elsner, Jaś, and Gerhard Wolf. "The Transfigured Mountain: Icons and Transformations of Pilgrimage at the Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai." In *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*. 2010. 37–71.

Elweskiöld, Birgitta. "John Philoponus Against Cosmas Indicopleustes: A Christian Controversy on the Structure of the World in Sixth-Century Alexandria." Ph.D. diss. Lund University, 2005.

Engemann, Josef. "Der Skulpturenschmuck des 'Fastigiums' Konstantins I. nach dem Liber pontificalis und der Zufall der Überlieferung." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 69 (1993): 179–203.

_____. "Die Huldigung der Apostel im Mosaik des ravennatischen Orthodoxenbaptisteriums." In *Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik: Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*. Eds. Hans-Ulrich Cain, Hanns Gabelmann, and Dieter Salzmann. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1989. 481–489.

_____. “Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola.” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 17 (1974): 21–46.

_____. “Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphisch Trinitätsbilder?” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 19 (1976): 157–172.

_____. “Zur Schönheit des Teufels im ravennatischen Weltgerichtsbild.” In *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes: miscellanea in onore di monsignor Victor Saxer*. Studi di Antichità Cristiana 48. Ed. Eugenio Alliata. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1992. 335–351.

Englen, A., et al., eds. *Case romane e Antiquarium sotto la basilica dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo al Celio*. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2004.

Ennabli, Abdelmagid. “Les thermes du thiase marin de Sidi Ghrib (Tunisie).” *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 68, no. 1 (1986): 1–59.

Entwistle, Chris, and Noël Adams, eds. *Gems of Heaven: Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity, c. AD 200–600*. London: British Museum, 2012.

Episcopo, Silvana. “L’*Ecclesia baptismalis* nel suburbio di Roma.” In *Atti del VI Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana: Pesaro-Ancona, 19–23 settembre 1983*. Vol. 1. Florence: Nuova Italia, 1986. 297–308.

_____. “Saggi di scavo presso S. Aurea ad Ostia.” *Archeologia laziale* 3 (1980): 228–233.

Eristov, Hélène. “Corpus des faux-marbres peints à Pompéi.” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité* 91, no. 2 (1979): 693–771.

_____. “Peintures de jardins à Pompéi : une question de point de vue.” In *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l’antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Ed. Éric Morvillez. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 81–103.

_____. “Un algorithme appliqué à la classification des imitations de marbre dans la peinture pompéienne.” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité* 88, no. 2 (1976): 705–717.

Eschebach, Hans, et al. *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur 13. Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1979.

Eusebius of Caesarea. *Vita Constantini*. In *Eusebius Werke*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 7, Eusebius 1. Ed. Ivar A. Heikel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1902. 149–192.

Euzennat, Maurice. “Les édifices du culte chrétiens en Maurétanie Tingitane.” *Antiquités africaines* 8 (1974): 175–190.

Fagan, Garrett G. *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Faller, Otto, ed. *Sancti Ambrosii opera. Pars settima*. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1955.

Fant, J. Clayton. “Real and Painted (Imitation) Marble at Pompeii.” In *The World of Pompeii*. Eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss. New York, London: Routledge, 2007. 336–346.

Farrar, Linda. *Gardens of Italy and the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire: From the 4th Century BC to the 4th Century AD*. BAR International Series 650. Oxford: Tempvs Reparatvm, 1996.

Favreau, Robert. “L’épigraphie comme source pour la liturgie.” In *Vom Quellenwert der Inschriften. Vorträge und Berichte der Fachtagung, Esslingen 1990*. Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 7. Ed. Renate Neumüllers-Klauser. Heidelberg: Winter, 1992. 65–137.

_____. “Les inscriptions des fonts baptismaux d’Hildesheim : baptême et quaternité.” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995): 116–140.

Feld, Otto. “Das Apsismosaik in S. Pudenziana als Bild der Gemeinschaft mit Christus.” In *Gemeinsam Kirche sein: Theorie und Praxis der Communio. Festschrift der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau für Erzbischof Dr. Oskar Saier*. Eds. Oskar Saier, Günter Biemer, Bernhard Casper, and Josef Müller. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1992. 253–262.

Fendri, Mohamed, and N. Fendri. *Basiliques chrétiennes de la Skhira*. Publications de l’Université de Tunis, Faculte des lettres, serie 1, vol. 8. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1961.

Fentress, Elizabeth. “Sétif, les thermes du Ve siècle.” In *L’Africa romana: Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16–18 dicembre 1988*. Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di storia dell’Università di Sassari 14. Ed. Attilio Mastino. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi, 1989. 321–337.

Fenwick, Corisande. “From Africa to Ifrīqiya: Settlement and Society in Early Medieval North Africa (650–800).” *Al-Masāq* 25, no. 1 (2013): 9–33.

_____. “‘Where Are Those Great and Splendid Cities?’ Urbanization and Landscape Change in North Africa Across the *Longue Durée* (500 B.C.E.–800 C.E.).” Paper presented at the session *Colloquium: Current Developments in North African Archaeology: AIA/DAI New Projects and Joint Efforts,* American Archaeological Institute Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, January 7, 2016.

Ferguson, Everett. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009.

_____. "Baptism in the Patristic Period." *Australian EJournal of Theology* 1 (August, 2003): 1–11.

_____. "Inscriptions and the Origin of Infant Baptism." *Journal of Theological Studies* 30, no. 1 (1979): 37–46.

Ferguson, John. "Roman Algeria." *Greece & Rome* 13, no. 2 (1966): 169–187.

Fernández, Cristina Godoy. "Baptisterios hispánicos (siglos IV al VIII). Arqueología y liturgia." In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 1. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 607–635.

Ferrua, Antonio. "Sul battistero di S. Costanza." *Vetera Christianorum* 14 (1977): 281–290.

Feuille, G. L. "Une mosaïque chrétienne de l'Henchir Messaouda (Tunisie, région d'Agareb)." *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 9–15.

Février, Paul-Albert. "L'abeille et la seiche (à propos du décor du baptistère de Kélibia)." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 60, no. 3/4 (1984): 277–292.

_____. "Approches récentes de l'Afrique byzantine." *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 (1983): 25–53.

_____. *Djémila*. Algiers: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 1968.

_____. "Inscriptions chrétiennes de Djemila (Cuicul)." *Bulletin d'archéologie algérienne* 1 (1962–1965): 207–226.

_____. "La maison et la mer, réalité et imaginaire." In *La Méditerranée de Paul-Albert Février*. Publications de l'École française de Rome 225. Rome: École française de Rome, 1996. 879–897.

_____. "Ostie et Porto à la fin de l'Antiquité : topographie religieuse et vie sociale." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 70 (1958): 295–330.

Février, P.-A., and C. Poinssot. "Les cierges et l'abeille: Note sur l'iconographie due baptistère découvert dans la région de Kélibia (Tunisie)." *Cahiers archéologiques* 10 (1959): 149–156.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. "Note storiche ai mosaici di Lin (Albania)." In *III Colloquio internazionale sul mosaico antico, Ravenna, 6–10 settembre 1980*. Vol. 1. Ed. Raffaella Farioli Campanati. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1983. 185–196.

Filipová, Alžběta Ž. “Circulation of Blood, Clay, and Ideas: The Distribution of Milanese Relics in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries.” *Convivium* 1, no. 1 (2014): 64–75.

Filipova, Snežana. “Motifs Employed within the Early Christian Mosaic of the Recently Discovered Baptistery at Plaosnik, Near Ohrid.” Paper presented at the Prvi Međunarodni Znanstveni skup Ikonografskih Studija, *Kristološke Teme – Riječ i Slika u Kršćanskoj Ikonografiji* (First International Conference of Iconography, *Christological Themes – Word and Image in the Christian Iconography*), Rijeka, Croatia, May 24–25, 2007.

_____. “Ранохристијанските културни центри во Република Македонија долж Via Egnatia.” *Patrimonium* 7–8 (2010): 127–148.

Finch, Margaret. “The Cantharus and Pigna at Old St. Peter’s.” *Gesta* 30, no. 1 (1991): 16–26.

Finn, Thomas M. *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: West and East Syria*. Message of the Fathers of the Church 5. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992.

_____. *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, and Egypt*. Message of the Fathers of the Church 6. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992.

_____. “It Happened One Saturday Night: Ritual and Conversion in Augustine’s North Africa.” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 58, no. 4 (1990): 589–616.

_____. *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom*. Catholic University of America, Studies in Christian Antiquity 15. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1967.

Finney, Paul Corby. “Images on Finger Rings and Early Christian Art.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 181–186.

_____. *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Fiocchi Nicolai, Vincenzo. “Considerazioni sulla funzione del cosiddetto battistero di Ponziano sulla via Portuense.” In *Il Lazio tra antichità e medioevo: studi in memoria di Jean Coste*. Eds. Zaccaria Mari, Maria Teresa Petrara, and Maria Sperandio. Rome: Quasar, 1999. 323–332.

Fisher, J. D. C. *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West. A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation*. Alcuin Club Collections 47. London: SPCK, 1965.

Florensky, Pavel. “The Church Ritual as a Synthesis of the Arts.” In *Pavel Florensky.*

*Beyond Vision: Essays on the Perception of Art*. Ed. Nicoletta Misler. Trans. Wendy Salmond. London: Reaktion Books, 2002. 101–111. Originally published as "Храмовое действо как синтез искусств." *Маковец* 1 (1922): 28–32.

Floyd, E. D. "Eusebius' Greek Version of Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue*." In *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Perspectives on Translation 233. Eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Luise Von Flotow, and Daniel S. Russell. Ottawa; Tempe: University of Ottawa Press; Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001. 57–67.

Foletti, Ivan. "Saint Ambroise et le Baptistère des Orthodoxes de Ravenne. Autour du *Lavement des pieds* dans la liturgie baptismale." In *Fons vitae. Baptême, baptistères et rites d'initiation (IIe-VIe siècle). Actes de la journée d'études, Université de Lausanne, 1er décembre 2006*. Eds. Ivan Foletti and Serena Romano. Rome: Viella, 2009. 121–155.

Foletti, Ivan, and Serena Romano, eds. *Fons vitae. Baptême, baptistères et rites d'initiation (IIe-VIe siècle). Actes de la journée d'études, Université de Lausanne, 1er décembre 2006*. Études lausannoises d'histoire de l'art 8. Rome: Viella, 2009.

Forsgren, Frida. "Topomimesis: The 'Gerusalemme' at San Vivaldo." In *Urban Preoccupations: Mental and Material Landscapes*. Ed. Per Sivefors. Pisa, Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2007. 171–201.

Fouchet, Louis. "Une mosaïque de Triclinium trouvée à Thysdrus." *Latomus* 20 (1961): 291–297.

Fox, Robin Lane. "Art and the Beholder: The Apse Mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe." In *Bosphorus: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango*. Eds. Cyril A. Mango, Stefanos Efthymiadis, Claudia Rapp, and Demetres Tsounkarakes. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1995. 247–251.

Franceschi, Enrico, Dion Nole, and Stefano Vassallo. "Il mosaico del battistero di Albenga. Indagini in fluorescenza X (XRF) e altre tecniche non invasive e micro invasive." In *Ravenna musiva*. Eds. Cesare Fiori and Mariangela Vandini. Bologna: Ante Quem, 2010. 483–496.

Francis, James A. "Clement of Alexandria on Signet Rings: Reading an Image at the Dawn of Christian Art." *Classical Philology* 98, no. 2 (2003): 179–183.

Frank, Georgia. "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century." *Church History* 70, no. 4 (2001): 619–643.

Franz, Ansgar. "Die Tagzeitenliturgie der mailänder Kirche im 4. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kathedraloffiziums im Westen." *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 34 (1992): 23–83.

Frazer, Margaret English. "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine

Bronze Doors in Italy." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 145–162.

Freed, Joann. *Bringing Carthage Home: The Excavations of Nathan Davis, 1856–1859*. Oxford, Oakville: Oxbow Books for the Department of Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies, University of British Columbia, 2011.

French, Dorothea R. "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society." *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 3 (1998): 293–318.

Freutsmiedl, Johannes. *Römische Straßen der Tabula Peutingeriana in Noricum und Raetien*. Buchenbach: Verlag Dr. Faustus, 2005.

Fricke, Beate. "Tales from Stones, Travels through Time: Narrative and Vision in the Casket from the Vatican." *West 86th* 21, no. 2 (2014): 230–250.

Friedländer, Paul. *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius: Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit*. Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912.

Frommel, Christoph L. "Kirche und Tempel: Giuliano della Roveres Kathedrale Sant'Aurea in Ostia." In *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik*. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 47. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1989. 491–505.

Frondoni, Alessandro. "Recenti restauri e indagini al battistero di Albenga." In *L'edificio battesimale in Italia*. Vol. 2. Ed. Daniela Gandolfi. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2001. 844–865.

Frothingham, Jr., A. L. "Notes on Christian Mosaics. II. The Portico of the Lateran Basilica." *American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 2, no. 4 (1886): 414–423.

Fusconi, Costanza, and Roberto Sabelli. "Il Battistero di Albenga: indagini per la conservazione e proposte d'intervento." In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 599–636.

Gandolfi, Daniela, ed. *L'edificio battesimale in Italia: aspetti e problemi. Atti dell'VIII Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana: Genova, Sarzana, Albenga, Finale Ligure, Ventimigli, 21–26 settembre 1998*. 2 vols. Genoa: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 2001.

Gandolfi, Daniela, and Alessandra Frondoni. "Recenti indagini archeologiche nel Battistero 'monumentale' di Albenga. Note di scavo." In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 555–598.

Gandolfi, Daniela, and Mario Marcenaro. “Albenga, battistero ‘monumentale’: una nuova scoperta.” *Temporis signa: Archeologia della tarda antichità e del medioevo* 3 (2008): 199–202.

Gandolfi, Daniela, and Bruno Massabò. “*Albingaunum*. Aggiornamenti e riflessioni sulla città tardoantica.” In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 431–472.

Gandolfi, Katia. “Les mosaïques du baptistère de Naples: Programme iconographique et liturgie.” In *Il duomo di Napoli dal paleocristiano all’età angioina*. Eds. Serena Romano and Nicolas Bock. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2002. 21–34.

Garbe, Richard. “The Physiologus and the Christian Fish Symbol.” Trans. Lydia G. Robinson. *The Open Court* 28 (1914): 405–411.

Gatti, Eduardo. “Via Salaria. Nuove scoperte nel sepolcreto.” *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 10–12 (1923): 364–379.

Gauckler, Paul. *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie (1892–1904)*. Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1913.

_____. “Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina.” *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 3, no. 2 (1896): 177–230.

_____. “Fouilles d’Oudna, l’ancienne Uthina.” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 39, no. 5 (1895): 430–432.

_____. *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l’Afrique*. Vol. 2, *Afrique Proconsulaire (Tunisie)*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910.

_____. “Mosaïques tombales d’une chapelle de martyrs à Thabraca.” *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 13, no. 2 (1906): 175–228.

Gavault, P. “Note sur les ruines antiques de Toukria.” *Revue africaine* 27 (1883): 231–240.

_____. “Tipasa. I. Les hypogées.” *Revue africaine* 27 (1883): 321–323.

_____. “Tipasa. II. L’église de l’ouest.” *Revue africaine* 27 (1883): 400–404.

_____. “Tipasa. III. Épigraphie.” *Revue africaine* 27 (1883): 479–482.

_____. “Tipasa. IV. La Villa Hortensia.” *Revue africaine* 28 (1884): 74–80.

Gavin, F. “Some Notes on Early Christian Baptism.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 46 (1926): 15–22.

Gavrilyuk, Paul L. “Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.” In *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 86–103.

Gavrilyuk, Paul L., and Sarah Coakley, eds. *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Gebhardt, E., ed. *Gregorii Nysseni opera*. Vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998.

Germain, Suzanne. *Les mosaïques de Timgad : étude descriptive et analytique*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969.

Gerola, G. “Il restauro del battistero ariano di Ravenna.” In *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens: Josef Strzygowski zum sechzigsten Geburtstage von seinen Freunden und Schülern*. Ed. Heinrich Glück. Vienna: Hellerau, Avalun-Verlag, 1923. 112–129.

Geymonat, Mario. “Un falso cristiano della seconda metà del IV secolo (sui tempi e le motivazioni della *Oratio Constantini ad sanctorum coetum*).” *Aevum Antiquum* 1 (2001): 349–366.

Ghalia, Taher. “L’architecture religieuse en Tunisie aux V$^{e}$ et VI$^{e}$ siècles.” *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002): 213–222.

_____. “Carte archéologique de Tunisie et connaissance du paysage rural antique à l’époque tardive : notes sur les monuments chrétiens de Chatt Menzel Yahia (Kélibia), Saadat Mornissa (Mateur) et Sarraguia (Gafsa).” In *Histoire et archéologie de l’Afrique du Nord. Actes du V$^{e}$ Colloque international réuni dans le cadre du 115$^{e}$ Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Avignon, 9–13 avril 1990*. Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1992. 419–438.

_____. *Hergla et les mosaïques de pavement des basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie (plan, décor et liturgie)*. Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1998.

_____. “Landscapes and Scenes of Daily Life in Pavement Mosaics from Ancient Tunisia.” In *Stories in Stone: Conserving Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Masterpieces from the National Museums of Tunisia*. Ed. Aïcha Ben Abed. Los Angeles; Tunis: J. Paul Getty Museum; Institut national du patrimoine, 2006. 31–45.

_____. “Mise en valeur des mosaïques chrétiennes de Tafekhsite – Chatt Menzel Yahia (région de Kélibia).” In *Les mosaïques : conserver pour présenter? [Mosaics: Conserve to Display?], VII$^{ème}$ Conférence du Comité international pour la conservation des mosaïques, 22–28 novembre 1999, Musée de l’Arles antique – Arles et Musée archéologique de Saint-Romain-en-Gal, France*.

Eds. Patrick Blanc and Véronique Blanc-Bijon. Arles: Édition du Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, 2003. 387–389.

Giordani, Roberto. "Scavi nella basilica cristiana di Pianabella (Ostia Antica)." *Archeologia laziale* 2 (1979): 240–242.

_____. "Scavi nella tenuta di Pianabella di Ostia Antica. La basilica cristiana." *Memorie. Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia* 14 (1982): 77–87.

Giovenale, G. B. *Il battistero Lateranense : nelle recenti indagini della Pont. Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*. Studi di antichità cristiana 1. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1929.

Gnilka, Christian. "Prudentius über den *Colymbus* bei St. Peter." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 152 (2005): 61–88.

Gobbi, Annalisa. "La cosidetta Basilica Cristiana." *Bolletino di archeologia* 49–50 (1998): 131–133.

_____. "Nuove osservazioni sulle fasi costruttive della cosidetta basilica cristiana di Ostia Antica." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 74 (1998): 455–480.

Goldschmidt, Rudolf Carel. *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations and Commentary*. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940.

Golvin, Jean-Claude. *L'amphithéâtre romain. Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions*. 2 vols. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1988.

Golvin, Jean-Claude, and Michel Janon. "L'amphithéatre de Lambèse (Numidie) d'aprés des documents anciens." *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 12–14 (1976–1978): 169–193.

Grabar, André. *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins*. A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 10. Trans. Terry Grabar. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

_____. "La fresque des saintes femmes au tombeau à Doura." *Cahiers archéologiques* 8 (1956): 9–26.

_____. *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne : Antiquité et Moyen Âge*. Paris: Flammarion, 1979.

_____. "Une nouvelle interprétation de certaines images de la mosaïque de pavement de Qasr el-Lebya (Libye)." In *L'art paléochrétien et l'art byzantin : recueil d'études 1967–1977*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1979. 264–279.

Grégoire, Henri. "Les baptistères de Cuicul et de Doura." *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 589–593.

Gregory, Tullio. “Le acque sopra il firmamento *Genesi* e tradizione esegetica.” In *L’acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 1. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 1–41.

Grewe, Klaus, et al. *Die Wasserversorgung im Mittelalter*. Geschichte der Wasserversorgung 4. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1991.

Griffo, Pietro, and Ernesto de Miro. “Emporion.” *Fasti archeologici* 10 (1955): 336, cat. no. 4267.

Grillmeier, Aloys. “Die Taufe Christi und die Taufe der Christen. Zur Tauftheologie des Philoxenus von Mabug und ihre Bedeutung für die christliche Spiritualität.” In *Fides sacramenti, sacramentum fidei: Studies in Honour of Pieter Smulders*. Eds. Hans Jörg Auf der Maur, Leo Bakker, Annewies van de Bunt, and Joop Waldram. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981. 137–176.

Grozdanova, Vera Bitrakova (Грозданова, Вера Битракова). *Monuments paléochrétiens de la région d’Ohrid* (Староохристијански споменици во Охридско). Ohrid: Institut pour la protection des monuments de la culture et Musée national d’Ohrid, 1975 (Охрид: Завод за заштита на спомениците на културата и Народен музеј на Охрид, 1975).

_____. “Sur un thème se trouvant dans les mosaïques paléochrétiennes de la Republique Socialiste de Macedoine.” *Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 33 (1986): 121–134.

Gsell, Stéphane. *Atlas archéologique de l’Algérie*. Vol. 1. 2nd ed. Algiers: Agence Nationale d’Archéologie et de Protection des Sites et Monuments Historiques, 1997.

_____. “La basilique de Rusguniae (Algérie) découverte par le lieutenant Chardon.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 44, no. 1 (1900): 48–52.

_____. “Le mausolée de Blad-Guitoun (fouilles de M. Viré).” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 42 (1898): 481–499.

_____. “Note sur la basilique de Sertei (Maurétanie Sitifienne).” In *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi: Recueil de travaux. Publiés par l’École française de Rome en l’honneur de M. le Commandeur Giovanni Battista de Rossi*. Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire, Supplement 12. Paris; Rome: Ernest Thorin; Spithöver, 1892. 345–360.

_____. “Tipasa, ville de la Maurétanie Césarienne.” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 14 (1894): 291–450.

Gsell, Stéphane, and Charles-Albert Joly. *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa. Fouilles*

*exécutées par le Service des Monuments Historiques de l'Algérie*. Vol. 3, *Announa*. Algiers; Paris: Adolphe Jourdan; Fontemoing & C$^{ie}$, 1918.

Gui, Isabelle, Noël Duval, and Jean-Pierre Caillet. *Basiliques chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord (Inventaire et Typologie)*. Vol. 1. *Inventaire des monuments de l'Algérie*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes 129. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992.

Gury, Françoise. "Les jardins romains étaient-ils bien entretenus? Une esthétique du négligé ou l'expression d'une vitalité victorieuse? Le dossier de la peinture romano-campanienne (30 avant-79 après J.C.)." In *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Ed. Éric Morvillez. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 131–176.

Guy, Laurie. "'Naked' Baptism in the Early Church: The Rhetoric and the Reality." *Journal of Religious History* 27, no. 2 (2003): 133–142.

Guyon, Jean. "Baptistères et groupes épiscopaux de Provence : élaboration, diffusion et devenir d'un type architectural." In *Actes du XI$^{e}$ Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste, 21–28 septembre 1986*. Vol. 2. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Rome: École française de Rome, 1989. 1427–1449.

Hagenow, Gerd. "Der nichtausgekehrte Speisesaal." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 121 (1978): 260–275.

Hahn, Cynthia. "The Creation of the Cosmos: Genesis Illustration in the Octateuchs." *Cahiers archéologiques* 28 (1979): 29–40.

_____. *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

Hall, Arthur. "The Excavations at Carthage." *Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1858): 545.

Hamman, André, ed. *Baptism: Ancient Liturgies and Patristic Texts*. Trans. Thomas Halton. Staten Island: Society of St. Paul, 1967. Originally published as *La baptême d'après les pères de l'église*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1962.

Hanfmann, George M. A. "The Seasons in John of Gaza's Tabula Mundi." *Latomus* 3, no. 2 (1939): 111–118.

Hanoune, Roger. "Note sur la mosaïque des fleuves du paradis de la maison n$^{o}$ 10." In *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Bulla Regia*. Vol. 1, *Miscellanea*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 28/I. Eds. Azedine Beschaouch et al. Rome: École française de Rome, 1983. 55–58.

_____. "Trois pavements de la maison de la course de chars à Carthage." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 81 (1969): 219–256.

Harmless, William. *Augustine and the Catechumenate*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995.

Harper, James G. "The Provisioning of Marble for the Sixth-Century Churches of Ravenna: A Reconstructive Analysis." In *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*. Eds. Renate L. Colella et al. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1997. 131–148.

Harrison, Verna. "Perichoresis in the Greek Fathers." *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1991): 53–65.

Hauschild, Theodor. "Milreu. Estói (Algarve): Untersuchungen neben der Taufpiscina und Sondagen in der Villa, Kampagnen 1971 und 1979." *Madrider Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteiling Madrid* 21 (1980): 189–219.

Heimann, Adelheid. "Trinitas Creator Mundi." *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 1 (1938): 42–52.

Hellemo, Geir. *Aventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th-Century Apses and Catecheses*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 5. Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1989.

_____. "Baptism – The Divine Touch." *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 18 (2004): 101–113.

Hellholm, David, et al., eds. *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism (Waschungen, Initiation und Taufe): Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity (Spätantike, Frühes Judentum und Frühes Christentum)*. 3 vols. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 176. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.

Hemans, Caroline Jane. "Late Antique Wall Painting from Stobi, Yugoslavia." Ph.D. diss. Indiana University, 1987.

Herrenschmidt, Clarisse. "Le paradis perse 'tout bonheur.'" In *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Ed. Éric Morvillez. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 35–39

Heres, Theodora Leonore. "Alcuni appunti sulla 'Basilica Cristiana' (III, I, 4) di Ostia Antica." *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 42 (1980): 87–99.

Heuser, Manfred, and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 46. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998.

Hevelone-Harper, Jennifer L. *Disciples of the Desert: Monks, Laity, and Spiritual Authority in Sixth-Century Gaza*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Higginbotham, James. *Piscinae: Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy*. Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Hodges, Richard. "Butrint 2000: Excavating a World Heritage Site in Albania." *Minerva* 12, no. 4 (2001): 46–51.

_____. "The Rediscovery of Butrint (Albania): A Microcosm of Mediterranean History." *Apollo* 142, no. 401 (1995): 24–26.

Hodges, Richard, William Bowden, Oliver Gilkes, and Kosta Lako. "Late Roman Butrint, Albania: Survey and Excavations, 1994–98." *Archeologia Medievale* 27 (2000): 241–257.

Hodges, Richard, William Bowden, Oliver Gilkes, Kosta Lako, and Luan Përzhita. "The Butrint Project." *Antiquity* 75 (2001): 25–26.

Hodges, Richard, Sally Martin, and John Moreland. "Butrint, Albania: A Microcosm of Mediterranean History." *Minerva* 7, no. 2 (1996): 9–13.

Hodges, R., et al. "Late-Antique and Byzantine Butrint: Interim Report on the Port and Its Hinterland (1994–95)." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 207–234.

Iacobini, Antonio. "'Hoc elementum ceteris omnibus imperat'. L'acqua nell'universo visuale dell'alto Medioevo." In *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 985–1028.

_____. "Il mosaico absidale di San Pietro in Vaticano." In *Fragmenta picta: Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano. Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo, 15 dicembre 1989–18 febbraio 1990*. Eds. Maria Andaloro, Alessandra Ghidoli, Antonio Iacobini, Serena Romano, and Alessandro Tomei. Rome: Àrgos Edizioni, 1989. 119–129.

Iannucci, Anna Maria. "Nuove ricerche al battistero neoniano." *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 33 (1985): 79–107.

Ihm, Christa. *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerie vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*. Revised ed. Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 4. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992.

Isar, Nicoletta. "The Dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine χορός." *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (2003): 179–204.

_____. ΧΟΡΟΣ: Dancing into the Sacred Space of Chora. An Inquiry into the Choir of Dance from the Chora." *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 199–224.

_____. "Imperial ΧΟΡΟΣ: A Spatial Icon of Time as Eternity." In *Spatial Icons:*

*Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Пространственные иконы : перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси]. Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow: Индрик, 2011. 143–166.

_____. "'*Xopós* of light': Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's Poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae*." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 215–242.

Jacopi, G. "Le basiliche paleocristiane di Arcassa (Scarpanto)." *Clara Rhodos* 6 (1932): 553–568.

Jacobs, Ine, and Julian Richard. "'We Surpass the Beautiful Waters of Other Cities by the Abundance of Ours': Reconciling Function and Decoration in Late Antique Fountains." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5, no. 1 (2012): 3–71.

Jakšić, Nikola. "La première cathédrale de Zadar." *Antiquité tardive* 16 (2008): 187–194.

James, Liz. *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

_____. "Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium." *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2004): 522–537.

Janakievski, Tome. "L'architecture post-justinienne à Stobi et Heraclea." In *Radovi XIII. medunarodnog kongresa za starokrscansku arheologiju: Split-Porec, 25.9.–1.10.1994*. Vol. 2. Eds. Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin. Split: Arheoloski Muzej, 1998. 837–842.

Jang, Young Gyu. "The Water Rite and Conversion: The Significance of the Naaman Story in 2 Kings 5:1–27 for Christian Baptism." Th.D. diss. Boston University, 2002.

Janini, José. *Liber ordinvm episcopal (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4)*. Stvdia Silensia 15. Silos: Abadia de Silos, 1991.

_____. *Liber ordinvm sacerdotal (Cod. Silos, Arch. monástico, 3)*. Stvdia Silensia 7. Silos: Abadia de Silos, 1981.

Jannet Vallat, Monique. "Le Bapitstère de Cimiez dans son environnement : nouvelles approches." In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 863–890.

_____. "Cimiez / *Cemelenum* (Alpes-Maritimes)." In *Capitales éphémères. Des Capitales de cités perdent leur statut dans l'Antiquité tardive, Actes du colloque Tours, 6–8 mars 2003)*. Supplément à la Revue archéologique du centre de la France 25. Tours: Féderation pour l'édition de la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 2004. 405–410.

Jashemski, Wilhelmina F., ed. *Ancient Roman Gardens*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 1981.

_____. *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*. 2 vols. New Rochelle: A. D. Caratzas, 1979–1993.

_____. "Roman Gardens in Tunisia: Preliminary Excavations in the House of Bacchus and Ariadne and in the East Temple at Thuburbo Maius." *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 4 (1995): 559–576.

Jatta, Barbara, and Chiara Fornaciari. "Nota tecnica sui calchi del mosaico absidale di San Giovanni in Laterano." In *Fragmenta picta: Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano. Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo, 15 dicembre 1989–18 febbraio 1990*. Eds. Maria Andaloro, Alessandra Ghidoli, Antonio Iacobini, Serena Romano, and Alessandro Tomei. Rome: Àrgos Edizioni, 1989. 243–244.

Jeanes, Gordon. "Baptism Portrayed as Martyrdom in the Early Church." *Studia Liturgica* 23 (1993): 158–176.

_____. *The Day Has Come! Easter and Baptism in Zeno of Verona*. Alcuin Club Collection 73. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995.

Jensen, Robin M. *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theological Dimensions*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012.

_____. "Baptismal Rites and Architecture." In *Late Ancient Christianity*. A People's History of Christianity 2. Ed. Virginia Burrus. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005. 117–144.

_____. "Dining in Heaven: The Earliest Christian Visions of Paradise." *Bible Review* 14, no. 5 (1998): 32–38, 48–49.

_____. "The Economy of the Trinity at the Creation of Adam and Eve." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7, no. 4 (1999): 527–546.

_____. "Inscriptions from Early Christian Baptisteries in Rome." *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 24 (2011): 65–83.

_____. *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 105. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.

_____. "*Mater Ecclesia* and *Fons Aeterna*: The Church and Her Womb in Ancient Christian Tradition." In *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*. Ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Maria Mayo Robbins. London: T & T Clark, 2008. 137–155.

_____. *Understanding Early Christian Art*. London, New York: Routledge, 2000.

_____. “What Are Pagan River Gods Doing in Scenes of Jesus’ Baptism?” *Bible Review* 9, no. 1 (1993): 34–41, 54–55.

_____. “Womb, Tomb, and Garden: The Symbolism of the North African Baptismal Fonts.” Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, San Francisco, CA, November 1997.

Johnson, Mark J. *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Johnson, Maxwell E. “From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent.” *Studia Liturgica* 20 (1990): 185–200.

_____. *Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt*. Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 1995.

Johnson, Nancy Elizabeth. “Baptism and the Christian Life in the Writings of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa.” Ph.D. diss. University of Notre Dame, 2008.

Jordan, Henri. *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1871.

Jwejati, Rafah. “Sur le chemin de Jérusalem: Étude archéologique et iconographique de mosaïques paléochrétiennes de la Syrie du Nord.” Ph.D. diss. McGill University, 2008.

Kadra, Kadria Fatima. “Rapport sur les récentes découvertes en Algérie.” In *Actes du XI$^{e}$ Congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l’École française de Rome 123. Vol. 2. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 1961–1974.

Kaegi, Walter E. *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

_____. *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kallendorf, Craig. *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Kalleres, Dayna S. “Exorcising the Devil to Silence Christ’s Enemies: Ritualized Speech Practices in Late Antique Christianity.” Ph.D. diss. Brown University, 2002.

Kang, Seung Il. “Creation, Eden, Temple and Mountain: Textual Presentations of Sacred Space in the Hebrew Bible.” Ph.D. diss. Johns Hopkins University, 2008.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “The Baptism of the Apostles.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9/10

(1956): 203–251.

Kartsonis, Anna. “The Responding Icon.” In *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*. Ed. Linda Safran. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998. 58–80.

Kaufman, Peter Iver. “Donatism Revisited: Moderates and Militants in Late Antique North Africa.” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2, no. 1 (2009): 131–142.

Kavanagh, Aidan. *The Shape of Baptism: The Rite of Christian Initiation*. New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1978.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Kenrick, Philip M., and Ahmed Buzaian. *Cyrenaica*. London: Silphium Press, 2013.

Kessler, Herbert L. “*Arca arcarum*: Nested Boxes and the Dynamics of Sacred Experience.” *Codex Aquilarensis* 30 (2014): 83–108.

_____. “Bright Gardens of Paradise.” In *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*. Ed. Jeffrey Spier. New Haven, Fort Worth: Yale University Press in association with the Kimbell Art Museum, 2007. 110–139.

_____. *Seeing Medieval Art*. Rethinking the Middle Ages 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

_____. *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God’s Invisibility in Medieval Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Khatchatrian, A. *Les baptistères paléochrétiens : plans, notices et bibliographie*. École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Collection chrétienne et byzantine. Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1962.

_____. *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens*. Mulhouse: Centre de culture chrétienne, 1982.

Kiely, Maria M. “The Interior Courtyard: The Heart of Cimitile/Nola.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12, no. 4 (2004): 443–479.

Kiilerich, Bente. “*Trompe-l’oeil* i antik kunst.” *Klassisk Forum* 2 (2013): 34–43.

Kinzig, Wolfram, Christoph Markschies, and Markus Vinzent. *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis: Studien zur sogenannten “Traditio apostolica”, zu den “Interrogationes de fide” und zum “römischen Glaubensbekenntnis”*. Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 1999.

Kitzinger, Ernst. *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in*

*Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.

_____. "Mosaic Pavements in the Greek East and the Question of a 'Renaissance' under Justinian." In *Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 27 juillet–2 août 1948*. Vol. 2. Paris: Comité français des études byzantines, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1951. 209–223.

_____. "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics, I: Mosaics at Nikopolis." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 83–122.

_____. "A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946): 81–162.

Klauser, Theodor. "Die Inschrift der neugefundenen altchristlichen Bauanlage in Ostia." *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1939): 25–30.

_____. "Taufet in lebendigem Wasser! Zum religions- und kulturgeschichtlichen Verständnis von Didache 7, 1–3." In *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern und Schülern*. Eds. Theodor Klauser and Adolf Rücker. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1939. 157–164.

Kleinbauer, W. Eugene. "The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki." *Viator* 3 (1972): 27–107.

_____. "The Orants in the Mosaics Decoration of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki: Martyr Saints or Donors?" *Cahiers archéologiques* 30 (1982): 25–45.

Koch, Guntram. "Frühchristliche und byzantische Zeit (4.–8. Jh.)." In *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren. Die Ausstellung wird veranstaltet vom Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim*. Ed. Arne Eggebrecht. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1988. 118–145.

Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, Lieselotte. "Das Elfenbeinrelief mit Taufszene aus der Sammlung Maskell im British Museum." *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 22 (1979): 195–208.

Kolarik, Ruth E. "The Episcopal Basilica at Stobi: The Baptistery and Related Structures." In *Acta XV Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae, Toleti (8–12. 9. 2009): Episcopus, civitas, territorium*. Vol. 1. Ed. Olof Brandt. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2013. 939–952.

_____. "The Floor Mosaics of Stobi and Their Balkan Context." Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1981.

_____. "Mosaics of the Early Church at Stobi." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 295–306.

Kominko, Maja. “New Perspectives on Paradise: The Levels of Reality in Byzantine and Latin Medieval Maps.” In *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Eds. R. J. A. Talbert and R. W. Unger. Leiden: Brill, 2008. 139–153.

_____. *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Konowitz, Ellen. “The Program of the Carrand Diptych.” *Art Bulletin* 66, no. 3 (1984): 484–488.

Korkuti, Muzafer. “Fouilles archéologiques en Albanie dans l’intervalle 1967–1969.” *Bulletin d’archéologie sud-est européenne* 2 (1971): 11–35.

Korkuti, Muzafer, and Karl M. Petruso. “Archaeology in Albania.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, no. 4 (1993): 703–743.

Korol, Dieter. “La cosiddetta edicola mosaicata di Cimitile/Nola (500 d.C. circa). Parte I: I restauri del 1890 e del 1956 – Il conferimento di carattere monumentale al santuario centrale.” *Boreas* 21 (1998): 301–323.

Kostof, Spiro K. *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*. Yale Publications in the History of Art 18. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Kouymjian, Dickran. “The Eastern Case: The Classical Tradition in Armenian Art and the *Scaenae Frons*.” In *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979, in Conjunction with the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Classical Association*. Eds. Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott. Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981. 155–171.

Krahmer, Gerhard. *De tabula mundi ab Joanne Gazaeo descripta*. Ph.D. diss. Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1920.

Krautheimer, Richard. “A Note on the Inscription in the Apse of Old St. Peter’s.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 317–320.

_____. “The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth-Century Renascence?” In *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*. Vol. 1. Artibus opuscula 40. Ed. Millard Meiss. New York: New York University Press, 1961. 291–302.

_____. “The Building Inscriptions and the Dates of Construction of Old St. Peter’s: A Reconsideration.” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989): 3–23.

_____. “The Constantinian Basilica.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 115–140.

_____. “The Constantinian Basilica of the Lateran.” In *Studies in Early Christian,*

*Medieval, and Renaissance Art*. Ed. Richard Krautheimer. New York; London: New York University Press; University of London Press, 1969. 21–25. Originally published in *Antiquity* 34 (1960): 201–206.

Kretschmar, Georg. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie, insbesondere der Taufliturgie, in Ägypten." *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 8 (1963): 1–54.

Kristo, Zhaneta. "Archaeology in Albania 1991–1999." *Archaeological Reports* 46 (1999–2000): 152–159.

Krueger, Derek. "Liturgical Time and Holy Land Reliquaries in Early Byzantium." In *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Cynthia Hahn and Holger Klein. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2015. 111–131.

Krulak, Todd C. "'Invisible Things on Visible Forms': Pedagogy and Anagogy in Porphyry's Περί ἀγαλμάτων." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4, no. 2 (2011): 343–364.

Kühnel, Bianca. *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte 42. Rome: Herder, 1987.

Kuttner, Ann. "Looking Outside Inside: Ancient Roman Garden Rooms." *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscape* 19, no. 1 (1999): 7–35.

Kyle, Donald G. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome.* London, New York: Routledge, 1998.

Lachaux, Jean-Claude. *Théâtres et amphithéâtres d'Afrique proconsulaire*. Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1979.

Ladjimi Sebaï, Leïla. "Beliefs, Gods, and Myths." In *Stories in Stone: Conserving Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Masterpieces from the National Museums of Tunisia*. Ed. Aïcha Ben Abed. Los Angeles; Tunis: J. Paul Getty Museum; Institut national du patrimoine, 2006. 47–60.

Ladner, Gerhart B. "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953): 1–34.

_____. *God, Cosmos, and Humankind: The World of Early Christian Symbolism*. Trans. Thomas Dunlap. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995. Originally published as *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik: Gott, Kosmos, Mensch*. Stuttgart, Zurich: Belser, 1992.

Laken, Lara. "Zebrapatterns in Campanian Wall Painting: A Matter of Function." *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving* 78 (2003): 167–189.

Lamboglia, Nino. “Per l’archeologia di Albingaunum.” *Collana Storico-Archeologica della Liguria Occidentale* 12, no. 3 (1934): 1–103.

Lampe, G. W. H. *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*. 2nd ed. London: S.P.C.K., 1967.

Lanfer, Peter Thacher. *Remembering Eden: The Reception History of Genesis 3:22–24*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Lantier, Raymond. “Les grands champs de fouille de l’Afrique du Nord (1915–1930).” *Archäologische Anzeiger* 46 (1931): 461–572.

Laos, Nora Edith. “Provençal Baptisteries: Early Christian Origins and Medieval Afterlife.” Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 2002.

Lapeyre, P.-G. “La basilique chrétienne de Tunisie.” In *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Città del Vaticano, 16–22 ottobre 1938*. Vol. 1. Studi di Antichità Cristiana 16. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1940. 169–244.

Larson, Jennifer. *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Lasansky, D. Medina. “Body Elision: Acting Out the Passion at the Italian *Sacri Monti*.” In *The Body in Early Modern Italy*. Eds. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. 249–274.

Lassus, Jean. “Autour des basiliques chrétiennes de Tipasa.” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 47 (1930): 222–243.

_____. “La création du Monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle.” *Monuments et mémoires. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot* 62 (1979): 85–148.

_____. “La salle à sept absides de Djemila-Cuicul.” *Antiquités africaines* 5 (1971): 193–207.

Lauritzen, Delphine. “Paul le Silentiaire, lecteur de Jean de Gaza.” In *Le voyage des légendes. Hommages à Pierre Chuvin*. Eds. Delphine Lauritzen and Michel Tardieu. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2013. 309–323.

Leclercq, Henri. “Baptistère.” In *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. Vol. 2. Eds. Fernand Cabrol, Henri Leclercq, and Henri-Irénée Marrou. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1925. 382–469.

Leglay, M. “Note sur quelques baptistères d’Algérie.” In *Actes du Ve Congrès*

*international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence 13–19 septembre 1954*. Studi di Antichità Cristiana 22. Vatican City; Paris: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Société d'Édition "Les Belles-Lettres," 1957. 401–406.

Lehmann, Karl. "The Dome of Heaven." *Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945): 1–27.

Leipoldt, Johannes. "Darstellungen von Mysterientaufen." *Angelos: Archiv für neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte und Kulturkunde* 1 (1925): 46–47.

Leone, Anna. *Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab Conquest*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2007.

Leschi, Louis. *Cvicvl de Nvmidie: Toute une cité de l'Afrique romaine.* Algiers: Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1938.

Letzner, Wolfram. *Römische Brunnen und Nymphaea in der westlichen Reichshälfte*. Charybdis 2. Münster: Lit, 1990.

Leveau, Philippe. "Les maisons nobles de Caesarea de Maurétanie." *Antiquités africaines* 18 (1982): 109–165.

Levesque, Joseph L. "The Theology of the Postbaptismal Rites in the Seventh and Eighth Century Gallican Church." In *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*. Ed. Maxwell E. Johnson. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995. 163–165

Levi, Annalina, and Mario Levi. *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*. Studi e materiali del Museo dell'Imperio romano 7. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1967.

Leyerle, Blake. *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.

Lidov, Alexei. "Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach." In *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Jewish Art 23–24. Ed. Bianca Kühnel. Jerusalem: Journal of the Center for Jewish Art, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998. 340–353.

_____. Иеротопия : пространственные иконы и образы-парадигмы в византийской культуре. Moscow: Дизайн. Информация. Картография. Троица, 2009.

_____. "Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History." In *Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси]. Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow: Прогресс-Традиция, 2006. 32–58. Also published in the same volume as

"Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования." 9–31.

_____. "'Image-Paradigms' as a Category of Mediterranean Visual Culture: A Hierotopic Approach to Art History." In *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art, the University of Melbourne, 13–18 January 2008*. Ed. Jaynie Anderson. Carlton; Melbourne: Miegunyah Press; Melbourne University Press, 2009. 148–153.

_____. "Spatial Icons. The Miraculous Performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople." In *Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси]. Moscow: Прогресс-Традиция, 2006. 349–372.

_____, ed. *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* [Пространственные иконы : перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси]. Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow: Индрик, 2011.

_____. "The Temple Veil as a Spatial Icon: Revealing an Image-Paradigm of Medieval Iconography and Hierotopy." *IKON* 7 (2014): 97–108.

Lion, Brigitte. "Les jardins des rois néo-assyriens." In *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Ed. Éric Morvillez. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 21–34.

Liverani, Paolo. *Laterano, Vol. 1: Scavi sotto la Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano*. Monumenta Sanctae Sedis 1. Vatican City: Direzione generale dei Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, 1998.

Lloyd, Joan Barclay. "Krautheimer and S. Paolo fuori le mura: Architectural, Urban and Liturgical Planning in Late Fourth-Century Rome." In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 1. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 11–24.

_____. "The River of Life in the Medieval Mosaics of S Maria Maggiore in Rome." In *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in Honour of Margaret M. Manion*. Ed. Bernard J. Muir. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002. 35–55.

Loichiță, Vasile. Perihoreza în dogmatică. *Candela* 49 (1938): 319–336.

_____. "*Perihoreza* şi enipostasia în dogmatică." *Ortodoxia* 10, no. 1 (1958): 3–14.

Longhi, Davide. *La crux "coronata": significato e diffusione del tema iconografico della croce cosmica in corona tra IV e VIII secolo*. Biblioteca di "Felix Ravenna" 13. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2010.

Lopes, Virgilio. *Mértola na Antiguidade Tardia: A topografia histórica da cidade e do seu território nos alvores do cristianismo*. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2003.

Louth, Andrew. "'Truly Visible Things Are Manifest Images of Invisible Things': Dionysios the Areopagite on Knowing the Invisible." In *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000" (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 14. Eds. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005. 15–24.

Lowden, John. "Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis." *Gesta* 31, no. 1 (1992): 40–53.

Luigia Fobelli, Maria. *Un tempio per Giustiniano. Santa Sofia de Costantinopoli e la Descrizione di Paolo Silenziario*. Rome: Viella, 2005.

Lukken, G. M. *Original Sin in the Roman Liturgy: Research into the Theology of Original Sin in the Roman Sacramentaria and the Early Baptismal Liturgy*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.

Lusuardi Siena, Silvia, and Furio Sacchi. "Gli edifici battesimali di Milano e di Albenga." In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 677–704.

Maciel, M. Justino. "O Monumento Cruciforme do Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim)." In *Antiguidade Tardia e Paleocristianismo em Portugal*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1996. 91–100.

Mackie, Gillian. *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, and Patronage*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Magruder, James A. III. "Byzantine Cameos and the Aesthetics of the Icon." Ph.D. diss. Johns Hopkins University, 2014.

Maguire, Eunice Dauterman, Henry P. Maguire, and Maggie J. Duncan-Flowers. *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*. Illinois Byzantine Studies 2. Urbana, Chicago: Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989.

Maguire, Henry. "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 363–373.

_____. "Christians, Pagans, and the Representation of Nature." In *Begegnung von*

*Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten*. Riggisberger Berichte 1. Ed. Hans Christoph Ackermann. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1993. 131–160.

_____. *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*. Monographs on the Fine Arts 43. University Park, London: Pennsylvania State University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1987.

_____. "Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 215–224.

_____. "Imperial Gardens and the Rhetoric of Renewal." In *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 2. Ed. Paul Magdalino. Aldershot, Brookfield: Variorum, 1994. 181–198.

_____. "Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles." *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 44 (1994): 265–274.

_____. "Mosaics, with an Appendix by Brian Dayhoff." In *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage*. Eds. Susan T. Stevens, Angela V. Kalinowski, and Hans vanderLeest. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 59. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2005. 303–342.

_____. *Nectar and Illusion: Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*. Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

_____. "Paradise Withdrawn." In *Byzantine Garden Culture*. Eds. Antony Littlewood, Henry Maguire, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002. 23–35.

_____. "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Ekphrasis." In *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979, in Conjunction with the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Classical Association*. Eds. Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott. Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981. 94–102.

_____. "The Good Life." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Eds. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999. 238–257. Reprinted in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*. Ed. Eva R. Hoffman. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. 63–84.

_____. "The Nile and the Rivers of Paradise." In *The Madaba Map Centenary, 1897–1997: Travelling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Amman, 7–9 April 1997*. Collectio maior 40. Eds. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata. Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1999. 179–184.

Maier, Jean-Louis. *Le baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques. Étude historique et iconographique*. Paradosis: Études de littérature et de théologie anciennes 19. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1964.

Mănăstireanu, Dănuț. "Perichoresis and the Early Christian Doctrine of God." *Archæus* 11–12 (2007–2008): 61–93.

Mango, Cyril, ed. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 313–1453*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Mannoni, Tiziano, and Aurora Cagnana. "Archeologia dei monumenti. L'analisi stratigrafica del battistero paleocristiano di Albenga (SV)." *Archeologia dell'architettura* 1 (1996): 83–100.

Mano-Zissi, D. "La question des différentes écoles de mosaïques gréco-romaines de Yougoslavie et essai d'une esquisse de leur évolution." In *La mosaïque gréco-romaine: Paris, 29 août–3 septembre 1963*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965. 287–295.

Marasović, T. "Il complesso episcopale Salonitano nel VI–VII secolo." In *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaelogiae christianae, Split-Poreč (25. 9.–1. 10. 1994)*. Vol. 2. Studi di antichità cristiana 54. Ed. N. Cambi and E. Marin. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1998. 1003–1014.

Marcenaro, Mario. "Ajnalov, Wilpert, Raimondi, Tabanelli e il mosaico di Albenga. Un acquerello nelle collezioni del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 87–88 (2011): 285–316.

_____, ed. *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. 2 vols. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007.

_____. "Alfredo d'Andrade e il mosaico del Battistero di Albenga: un restauro scientifico del primo novecento." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 1 (1987): 203–242.

_____. "I 'due' battisteri di Albenga: alcune considerazioni." In *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra tardoantico ed altomedioevo. Atti del IX Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Agrigento 20–25 novembre 2004*. Vol. 1. Eds. Rosa Maria Bonacasa Carra and Emma Vitale. Palermo: Carlo Saladino Editore, 2007. 709–744.

_____. "Il Battistero di Albenga: Storia di un restauro." *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 179–242.

_____. "Il Battistero di Albenga: tutela, ricerca e restauro tra Otto e Novecento." In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda,*

*Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 637–674.

_____. *Il battistero "monumentale" di Albenga: sedici secoli di storia*. Albenga: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Sezioni di Genova e Albenga, 2006.

_____. *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga. Le origini del Cristianesimo nella Liguria marittima*. Recco: Le Mani, 1994.

_____. "Dmitrij Vlasévič Ajnalov: il 'Viaggio in Italia' di uno storico dell'arte russa sul finire dell'Ottocento." *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 58 (2003): 189–214.

_____. "Il mosaico del Battistero di Albenga. Interpretazione iconografica, iconologica e restauro." In *Atti del III Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico, Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Genoa: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 1996. 39–62.

_____. "L'opificio delle pietre dure in Liguria (1899–1900): il Battistero di Albenga." *OPD Restauro* 1, 2nd series (1989): 223–238.

_____. "Restauro, ripristino e recupero esterno tra Otto e Novecento: da Alfredo D'Andrade a Nino Lambaoglia." In *La Cattedrale di Albenga*. Eds. Josepha Costa Restagno and Maria Celeste Paoli Maineri. Albenga: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 451–473.

Marcenaro, Mario, and Alessandra Frondoni, eds. *Tra Milano e la Provenza: guida agli edifici cristiani della Liguria Marittima tra IV e X secolo*. Itinerari liguri, Musei e Monumenti 6. Albenga: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Sezioni di Genova e Albenga, 2006.

Marin, Emilio. "La naissance de la ville chrétienne – deux exemples: Salona et Narona." In *La naissance de la ville chrétienne: mélanges en hommage à Nancy Gauthier*. Eds. Nancy Gauthier and Brigitte Beaujard. Tours: Maison des sciences de l'homme Villes et territoires, Université de Tours, 2002. 135–145.

Marini, Gaetano Luigi. *Inscriptiones christianae latinae et graecae aevi milliarii*. Vol. 1. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 9071, 1815.

Marinis, Vasileios. "Structure, Agency, Ritual, and the Byzantine Church." In *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Eds. Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 338–364.

Markow, Deborah. "Some Born-Again Christians of the Fourth Century." *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 650–655.

Marone, Paola. “L’uomo *imago trinitatis* nella produzione letteraria di Agostino.” In *Elaborare l’esperienza di Dio: Atti del II Convegno nazionale dell’Università di Roma Tor Vergata, “La Trinità”, (Roma, 26–28 maggio 2009)*. Rome: 2011. Preprint available at http://mondodomani.org/teologia/marone2011.htm. Accessed on April 26, 2016.

Marrou, Henri-Irénée. “L’inscription des quatre fleuves du Paradis dans la basilique d’Ostie.” In *Christiana tempora. Mélanges d’histoire, d’archéologie, d’épigraphie et de patristique*. Publications de l’École française de Rome 35. Rome: École française de Rome, 1978. 111–114.

_____. “Mosaïques chrétiennes de Ténès.” *Bulletin d’archéologie algérienne* 1 (1962): 227–233.

_____. “Rapport sur l’activité de l’École française de Rome pendant l’année 1969–1970.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 114, no. 3 (1970): 415–422.

Martinelli, Patrizia Angiolini, ed. *La Basilica di San Vitale a Ravenna*. 2 vols. Mirabilia Italiae 6. Modena: F. C. Panini, 1997.

Marzano, Annalisa. *Harvesting the Sea: The Exploitation of Marine Resources in the Roman Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Massabò, Bruno. *Albingaunum: Itinerari archeologici di Albenga*. Genoa: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria – Genova; Fratelli Frilli Editori, 2004.

Mastrorilli, Daria. “Considerazioni sul cimitero paleocristiano di S. Aurea ad Ostia.” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 83 (2007): 317–376.

_____. “Osservazioni sulla basilica paleocristiana di S. Aurea ad Ostia.” In *Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma. Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana (Roma, 13 marzo 2008)*. Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 24. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Hugo Brandenburg. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2012. 213–235.

Mathews, Thomas F. *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Revised ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

_____. “The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Ējmiacin Gospel (Erevan, Matendaran MS 2374, *olim* 229).” In *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*. Eds. Nina G. Garsoïan, et al. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982. 199–215.

Matthiae, Guglielmo, and Maria Andaloro. *Pittura romana del Medioevo, secoli IV–X*. Vol. 1. Rome: Palombi, 1987.

Mattingly, Harold. “Virgil’s Fourth Eclogue.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld*

*Institutes* 10 (1947): 14–19.

Mattingly, David J., and R. Bruce Hitchner. "Roman Africa: An Archaeological Review." *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995): 165–213.

Matulic, Branko. "Motiv kantarosa na ranokrscanskim mozaicima salonitanske radionice." *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 32 (1992): 151–156.

Matz, Brian J. "The Purifying Work of Baptism and the Christian's Post-Baptismal Life According to Gregory Nazianzen." Ph.D. diss. Saint Louis University, 2006.

Mau, August. *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1882.

Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Trans. W. D. Halls. London: Routledge, 1990. Originally published as "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques." *L'Année sociologique*, nouvelle série 1 (1923–1924): 30–186.

Mazzoleni, Danilo. "L'iscrizione del Battistero di Albenga." *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 257–267.

Mbanisi, Victor N. "Baptism and the Ideal of Unity and Universality of the Church in St. Augustine's Ecclesiology: An Exposition of His Theology of Baptism in Light of the Donatist Controversy." Ph.D. diss. Fordham University, 2008.

McKay, Alexander G. *Houses, Villas, and Palaces in the Roman World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

McConnell, Christian David. "Baptism in Visigothic Spain: Origins, Development and Interpretation." Ph.D. diss. University of Notre Dame, 2005.

Meder, Jagoda. "Les pavements de mosaïques paléochrétiens en Adriatique Oriental." In *VI Coloquio internacional sobre mosaico antiguo, Palencia-Mérida, Octubre 1990*. Eds. Juan José Lucas, José María Soriano Llamazares, and Jesús Mañueco Alonso. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994. 83–89.

Meier, Christel. *Gemma Spiritalis: Methode und Gebrauch der Edelsteinallegorese vom frühen Christentum bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 34. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977.

Meigs, James Thomas. "Baptismal and Eucharistic Symbolism in the Early Church to A.D. 451: A Study in the Dimensions of Relationship." Th.D. diss. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1971.

Meksi, Aleksandër. "Bazilika e Madhe dhe Baptisteri i Butrintit [La grande basilique et le baptistère de Butrint]." *Monumentet* 25, no. 1 (1983): 47–75.

Melfos, Vasilios. "Green Thessalian Stone: The Byzantine Quarries and the Use of a

Unique Architectural Material from the Larisa Area, Greece. Petrographic and Geochemical Characterization." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 4 (2008): 387–405.

Menander, Hanna, Olof Brandt, Agostina Appetechia, and Håkan Thorén. "The Lateran Baptistery in Three Dimensions: A Pilot Study in Building Archaeology of the Lateran Baptistery in Rome, Lateran Baptistery, Vatican State." *Swedish National Heritage Board, Riksantikvarieåmbetet Arkeologiska Uppdragsverksamheten (UV), UV Öst Rapport 2010:18*. Linköping: Swedish National Heritage Board, Riksantikvarieåmbetet Arkeologiska Uppdragsverksamheten (UV), 2010.

Menis, Gian Carlo. "I riti battesimali ad Aquileia nella prima metà del IV secolo." *Arte documento* 15 (2001): 74–77.

_____. "Il complesso teodoriano di Aquileia dalla fine del III all'inizio del IV secolo." *Arte documento* 4 (2000): 36–43.

_____. *Il pensiero teologico nei mosaici delle prime basiliche di Aquileia*. Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1982.

_____. "La liturgia battesimale ad Aquileia nel complesso episcopale del IV secolo." *Antiquité tardive* 4 (1996): 61–74.

_____. "L'influsso dell'architettura romana sull'architettura aquileiese dei secoli IV e V." In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 2. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 1287–1305.

_____. *Nuovi studi iconologici sui mosaici teodoriani di Aquileia*. Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Udine. Udine: Arti grafiche fruilane, 1971.

Merlin, Alfred. "Épitaphe chrétienne d'un prêtre découverte à Sbeitla, l'antique Sufetula (Tunisie)." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 58, no. 5 (1914): 482–488.

Meyboom, P. G. P. "I mosaici pompeiani con figure di pesci." *Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 39 (1977): 49–93.

_____. *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina: Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*. Leidon, New York: E. J. Brill, 1995.

_____. "A Roman Fish Mosaic from Populonia." *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 52–53 (1977–1978): 209–220.

Meyer, Hugo. "Zu neueren Deutungen von *Asarotos Oikos* und kapitolinischem Taubenmosaik." *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1977): 104–100.

Michaelides, Demetrios. “Some Aspects of Marble Imitation in Mosaic.” In *Marmi antichi. Problemi d’impiego, di restauro e d’identificazione*. Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte Greca e Romana dell’Università di Roma “La Sapienza,” Studi Miscellanei 26. Ed. Patrizio Pensaabene. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1985. 155–163.

Mietke, Gabriele. “Wundertätige Pilgerandenken, Reliquien und ihr Bildschmuck.” In *Byzanz. Die Macht der Bilder*. Eds. Michael Brandt and Arne Effenberger. Hildesheim: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1998. 40–55.

Migne, J.-P. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. 221 vols. Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1844–1855.

Miles, Richard. “Rivalling Rome: Carthage.” In *Rome the Cosmopolis*. Eds. Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 123–146.

Miller, Konrad. *Itineraria romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*. Bregenz: G. Husslein, 1988.

Millet, Gabriel. “Doura et El-Bagawat: la parabole des vierges.” *Cahiers archéologiques* 8 (1956): 1–8.

Milner, Christine. “The Image of the Rightful Ruler: Anicia Juliana’s Constantine Mosaic in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos.” In *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*. Ed. Paul Magdalino. Brookfield: Variorum, 1994. 73–81.

Mingazzini, Paolino, and Enrica Fiandra. *L’insula di Giasone Magno a Cirene*. Monografie di archeologia libica 8. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1966.

Mitchell, John. “The Mosaic Pavements of the Baptistery.” In *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*. Eds. Richard Hodges, William Bowden, and Kosta Lako. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004. 202–218.

_____. *Pagëzimorja e Butrintit dhe mozaikët e saj [The Butrint Baptistery and Its Mosaics]*. London: Butrint Foundation, 2008.

Mitchell, Leonel L. *Baptismal Anointing*. Alcuin Club Collections 48. London: SPCK, 1966.

Mitchell, Margaret M. “Epiphanic Evolutions in Earliest Christianity.” *Illinois Classical Studies* 29 (2004): 183–204.

Miziołek, Jerzy. “*Transfiguratio Domini* in the Apse at Mount Sinai and the Symbolism of Light.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 42–60.

Molholt, Rebecca. “Monsters in the Baths of Roman North Africa.” Lecture given at the Philological Society meeting, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, March 23, 2010.

_____. “On Stepping Stones: The Historical Experience of Roman Mosaics.” Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2008.

_____. “Roman Labyrinth Mosaics and the Experience of Motion.” *Art Bulletin* 93, no. 3 (2011): 287–303.

Mommsen, Theodor, ed. *Chronographvs Anni CCCLIIII*, in *Chronica minora, Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.* Vol. 1. Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum, Auctorum antiquissimorum 9. Bern: Weidmann, 1892.

Monceaux, Paul. “Cuicul chrétien (Numidie).” *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 1 (1923): 89–112.

_____. “Découverte d’un groupe d’édifices chrétiens à Djemila.” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 66, no. 5 (1922): 380–407.

_____. *Timgad chrétien*. Paris: Bibliothèque de l’École pratique des hautes études, 1911.

Montanari, Giovanni, ed. *Ravenna: l’iconologia. Saggi di interpretazione culturale e religiosa dei cicli musivi*. Ravenna: A. Longo, 2002.

Moorman, Eric M. “La Bellezza dell’Immondezza. Raffigurazioni di rifuti nell’arte ellenistica e romana.” In *Sordes urbis: la eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana*. Eds. Xavier Dupré Raventós and Josep-Anton Remolà. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2000. 75–94.

Moracchini, G. “Le pavement en mosaïque de la basilique paléo-chrétienne et du baptistère de Mariana (Corse).” *Cahiers archéologiques* 13 (1962): 137–160.

Morphy, Howard. “Art as Mode of Action: Some Problems with Gell’s *Art and Agency*.” *Journal of Material Culture* 14, no. 1 (2009): 5–27.

Morvillez, Éric, ed. *Paradeisos. Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l’Antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Orient & Méditerranée archéologie 15. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014.

Mourão, Cátia. *Mirabilia aqvarvm: Motivos aquáticos em mosaicos da Antiguidade no território Português*. Lisbon: EPAL, 2008. 133–136, 138–139.

_____. “Mosaicos romanos com motivos aquáticos em Portugal.” In *O Mosaico Romano nos Centros e nas Periferias: Originalidades, Influências e Identidades. Actas do X Colóquio Internacional da Associação Internacional para o Estudo do Mosaico Antigo (AEIMA) realizado no Museu Monográfico*

*de Conímbriga (Portugal) entre 29 de Outubro e 3 de Novembro de 2005*. Conímbriga: Museu Monográfico de Conímbriga/Instituto de Museu e de Conservação, 2011. 343–351.

_____. "Motivos aquáticos em mosaicos antigos de Portugal: decorativismo e simbolismo." *Revista de História da Arte* 6 (2008): 115–131.

Mouriki, Doula. "The Octateuch Miniatures of the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes." Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 1970.

Müntz, E. "Notes sur les mosaïques chrétiennes de l'Italie, IX: les mosaïques de Siponte, de Capoue, de Verceil, d'Olona, et d'Albenga." *Revue archéologique* 17 (1891): 70–86.

Mulliez, Maud. *Le luxe de l'imitation. Les trompe-l'œil de la fin de la République romaine, mémoire des artisans de la couleur*. Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 44, Archéologie de l'artisanat antique 8. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 2014.

Muscolino, Cetty, Antonella Ranaldi, and Claudia Tedeschi, eds. *Il Battistero Neoniano: uno sguardo attraverso il restauro*. Ravenna: Longo, 2011.

Nasrallah, Laura. "Empire and Apocalypse in Thessaloniki: Interpreting the Early Christian Rotunda." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13, no. 4 (2005): 465–508.

Neira Jiménez, María Luz. "Mosaico de los tritones de Itálica en el contexto iconográfico del *thiasos* marino en Hispania." In *VI Coloquio internacional sobre mosaico antiguo, Palencia-Mérida, Octubre 1990*. Eds. Juan José Lucas, José María Soriano Llamazares, and Jesús Mañueco Alonso. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994. 359–367.

_____. "The Sea *Thiasos* of Nereids and Tritons in the Roman Mosaics of Turkey." In *XI. Uluslararası Antik Mozaik Sempozyumu, 16–20 Ekim 2009, Bursa, Türkiye. Türkiye Mozaikleri ve Antik Dönemden Ortaçağ Dünyasına Diğer Mozaiklerle Paralel Gelişimi: Mozaiklerin Başlangıcından Geç Bizans Çağına Kadar Ikonografi, Stil ve Teknik Üzerine Sorular* [*11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, October 16th–20th, 2009, Bursa, Turkey. Mosaics of Turkey and Parallel Developments in the Rest of the Ancient and Medieval World: Questions of Iconography, Style and Technique from the Beginnings of Mosaic until the Late Byzantine Era*]. Ed. Mustafa Şahın. Istanbul: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2011. 631–654.

Nestori, Aldo, and A. Bevignani. "Il battistero paleocristiano di S. Marcello: Nuove scoperte." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 58, no. 1 (1982): 81–126.

Nicolotti, Andrea. "Che cos'è la *Traditio apostolica* di Ippolito? In margine ad una recente pubblicazione." *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 2, no. 1 (2005): 219–237.

Niehoff, Maren R. “Creatio ex Nihilo Theology in Genesis Rabbah in Light of Christian Exegesis.” *Harvard Theological Review* 99, no. 1 (2006): 37–64.

Nielsen, Inge. *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*. 2 vols. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990.

Ninck, Martin. *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten: Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960.

Nisbet, R. G. M. “Virgil’s Fourth *Eclogue*: Easterners and Westerners.” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25 (1978): 59–78.

Novara, Paola. *La Cattedrale di Ravenna: storia e archeologia*. Ravenna: D. Montanari, 1997.

Novelli, Silvana Casartelli. “Il simbolo dell’acqua di vita.” In *L’acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 931–984.

Nuzzo, Donatella. “Impiego e reimpiego di materiale epigrafico nella basilica cristiana di Pianabella (Ostia).” *Vetera christianorum* 33, no. 1 (1996): 85–114.

Obrist, Barbara. “Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology.” *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1997): 33–84.

Ofrasio, Timoteo José M. *The Baptismal Font: A Study of Patristic and Liturgical Texts*. Dissertatio ad Doctoratum Sacrae Liturgiae assequendum in Pontificio Instituto Liturgico. Pontificium Athenaeum S. Anselmi de Urbe Pontificium Institutum Liturgicum, Thesis ad Lauream 149. Rome: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1990.

Oliverio, Gaspare. “Campagna di scavi a Cirene nell’estate del 1926.” *Africa italiana* 1 (1927): 317–336.

_____. “Campagna di scavi a Cirene nell’estate del 1928.” *Africa italiana* 3 (1930): 141–229.

Omari, Elda. “The History and Development of Mosaics in Albania (4th/3rd Century B.C.–6th Century A.D.).” In *XI. Uluslararası Antik Mozaik Sempozyumu, 16–20 Ekim 2009, Bursa, Türkiye. Türkiye Mozaikleri ve Antik Dönemden Ortaçağ Dünyasına Diğer Mozaiklerle Paralel Gelişimi: Mozaiklerin Başlangıcından Geç Bizans Çağına Kadar Ikonografi, Stil ve Teknik Üzerine Sorular* [*11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, October 16th–20th, 2009, Bursa, Turkey. Mosaics of Turkey and Parallel Developments in the Rest of the Ancient and Medieval World: Questions of Iconography, Style and Technique from the Beginnings of Mosaic until the Late Byzantine Era*]. Ed. Mustafa Şahın. Istanbul: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2011. 675–691.

Orlandos, A. C. “Les baptistères du Dodécanese.” In *Actes du Ve Congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence, 13–19 septembre 1954*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1957. 199–211.

Orselli, Alba Maria. “I monaci tardoantichi in dialogo con l’acqua.” In *L’acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 1323–1382.

Osborne, Robin, and Jeremy Tanner, eds. *Art’s Agency and Art History*. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Pailler, Jean-Marie. “La découverte d’une basilique paléochrétienne à Uppenna (Tunisie) en 1905. Entre recherche scientifique, fracture idéologique et justification coloniale.” *Anabases* 9 (2009): 41–52.

Palazzo, Éric. “Iconographie et liturgie: La mosaïque du baptistère de Kélibia (Tunisie).” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 34 (1992): 102–120.

_____. *L’invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l’art au Moyen Âge.* Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2014.

Pallarés, Francisca. “Alcune considerazioni sulle anfore del Battistero di Albenga.” *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 269–306.

Pallas, Demetrios. “Corinthe et Nikopolis pendant le bas Moyen-Âge.” *Felix Ravenna* 118, no. 2 (1979): 93–142.

_____. “Le baptistère dans l’Illyricum oriental.” In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l’École française de Rome 123. Vol. 3. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 2485–2490.

Palmarini, Nicolò. “Simbolismo e gematria nel mosaico del Battistero di Albenga.” *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 243–256.

Pani Ermini, Letizia. “Condurre, conservare e distribuire l’acqua.” In *L’acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 1. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 389–428.

Panzanelli, Roberta. “Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the ‘New Jerusalem’ at Varallo (1486–1530).” Ph.D. diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1999.

Parenti, Stefano, and Elena Velkovska, eds. *L’Eucologio Barberini gr. 336: ff. 1–263.* Rome: C. L. V., Edizioni Liturgiche, 1995.

Paribeni, Roberto. “Un edificio sotterraneo di tarda età imperiale presso la Via Salaria.” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2 (1923): 45–52.

_____. “Via Salaria – Scoperta di un edificio sotterraneo con pitture e mosaici.” *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 10–12 (1923): 380–396.

Paroli, Lidia. “La basilica paleocristiana di Porto: scavi 1997–1998.” *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 58 (1999): 45–47.

Paroli, Lidia, et al. *Scavi di Ostia*. Vol. 12, *La Basilica cristiana di Pianabella 1*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1999.

Patera, Anna. “Tessere di storia: vicende e vicissitudini di un mosaico da Populonia.” In *Capolavori dell’archeologia: Recuperi, Ritrovamenti, Confronti. Roma, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant’Angelo dal 21 Maggio al 5 Novembre 2013*. Eds. Maria Grazia Bernardini and Mario Lolli Ghetti. Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2013. 299–304.

Paulinus of Nola. *Paolino di Nola: le lettere*. Vol. 2. Ed. Giovanni Santaniello. Naples: Libreria Editrice Redenzione, 1992.

Pavolini, Carlo. *Ostia*. Guide archeologiche Laterza 8. Rome, Bari: GLF Editori Laterza, 2006.

Pax, Elpidius. *’Επιφάνεια. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie*. Munich: K. Zink, 1955.

Peers, Glenn. *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

Pearson, Carl William. “Scripture as Cosmology: Natural Philosophical Debate in John Philoponus’ Alexandria.” Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1999.

Pelliccioni, Giovanni, and Eva Margareta Steinby. *Le nuove scoperte sulle origini del Battistero lateranense*. Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie III, vol. 12.1. Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1973.

Penni Iacco, Emanuela. *L’arianesimo nei mosaici di Ravenna*. Ravenna : Longo, 2011.

_____. *La Basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli*. Bologna : Ante Quem, 2004.

Pentcheva, Bissera V. “Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics.” *Gesta* 50, no. 2 (2011): 93–111.

_____. “The Performative Icon.” *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): 631–655.

_____. “Performing the Sacred in Byzantium: Image, Breath and Sound.”

*Performance Research* 19, no. 3 (2014): 120–128.

_____. *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

Peper, Bradley M. "The Development of *Mater Ecclesia* in North African Ecclesiology." Ph.D. diss. Vanderbilt University, 2011.

Peppard, Michael. "Illuminating the Dura-Europos Baptistery: Comparanda for the Female Figures." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 4 (2012): 543–574.

_____. *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Pergola, Philippe. "Lo scavo di S. Ercolano ad Ostia Antica. Relazione preliminare delle campagne 1988 e 1989." *Archeologia laziale* 10 (1990): 173–176.

Perler, Othmar. "Die Taufsymbolik der vier Jahreszeiten im Baptisterium bei Kelibia." In *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser*. Eds. Alfred Stuiber and Alfred Hermann. Münster: Aschendorff, 1964. 282–290.

_____. "L'inscription du baptistère de Sainte-Thècle à Milan et le De sacramentis de Saint Ambroise." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 27 (1951): 145–166.

Perpignani, Paola, and Cesare Fiori. *Il mosaico non spazzato: studio e restauro dell'asaroton di Aquileia*. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2012.

Pesce, Gennaro. *Nora: guida agli scavi*. Cagliari: Editrice Sarda Fossataro, 1972.

Picard, Gilbert-Charles. "Acholla." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 91 (1947): 557–562.

_____. "De la Maison d'Or de Néron aux thermes d'Acholla. Étude sur les grotesques dans la mosaïque romaine." *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 63 (1980): 63–104.

_____. "Dionysos victorieux sur une mosaïque d'Acholla." *Mélanges Charles Picard (Revue archéologique)* 2 (1949): 810–821.

_____. "Les mosaïques d'Acholla." *Études d'archéologie classique* 2 (1959): 75–95.

_____. *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar*. Vol. 1, *La Maison de Vénus*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 34. Rome: École française de Rome, 1977.

_____. "Les thermes du Thiase marin à Acholla." *Antiquités africaines* 2 (1968): 95–151.

Picard, Jean-Charles. “Ce que les textes nous apprennent sur les équipements et le mobilier liturgique nécessaires pour le baptême dans le sud de la Gaule et l’Italie du nord.” In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l’École française de Rome 123. Vol. 2. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 1451–1474.

Piccirillo, Michele. *The Mosaics of Jordan*. Eds. Patricia M. Bikai and Thomas A. Dailey. American Center of Oriental Research Publications 1. Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993.

_____. “The Mosaics of Jordan.” In *Interactions: Artistic Interchange Between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*. Ed. Colum Hourihane. Princeton; University Park: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, in association with Penn State University Press, 2007. 28–47.

Pichot, Adeline. *Les édifices de spectacle des Maurétanies romaines*. Archéologie et histoire romaine 22. Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2012.

_____. “Théâtres et amphithéâtres : outils de romanisation en Maurétanie?” In *Theatra et spectacula. Les grands monuments des jeux dans l’Antiquité*, Études de Lettres 288. Eds. Michel E. Fuchs and Benoît Dubosson. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, Revue Études de Lettres, 2011. 171–192.

Piédagnel, Auguste, ed. *Cyrille de Jérusalem : Catéchèses mystagogiques*. Sources chrétiennes 126. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966.

Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Ugo Poletti, eds. *San Giovanni in Laterano*. Florence: Nardini, 1990.

Pijoan, Joseph. “The Parable of the Virgins from Dura-Europos.” *Art Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (1937): 592–595.

Platt, Verity. *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Plumpe, Joseph C. *Mater Ecclesia: An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943.

Poinssot, Louis, and Raymond Lantier. “L’archéologie chrétienne en Tunisie (1920–1932).” In *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristian: Ravenna 25–30 settembre 1932*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1934. 387–410.

_____. “L’église d’El-Mouassat.” *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques* (1924): 171–176.

Polański, Tomasz. “Gerhard Krahmer: A Forgotten Latin Commentator of John of

Gaza's *Tabula Mundi*." *Classica Cracoviensia* 14 (2011): 267–286.

Pollitt, J. J. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Popova, Vania, and Alexander Lirsch. "Corpus of Late Antique and Early Christian Mosaics in Bulgaria." In *XI. Uluslararası Antik Mozaik Sempozyumu, 16–20 Ekim 2009, Bursa, Türkiye. Türkiye Mozaikleri ve Antik Dönemden Ortaçağ Dünyasına Diğer Mozaiklerle Paralel Gelişimi: Mozaiklerin Başlangıcından Geç Bizans Çağına Kadar Ikonografi, Stil ve Teknik Üzerine Sorular* [*11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, October 16th–20th, 2009, Bursa, Turkey. Mosaics of Turkey and Parallel Developments in the Rest of the Ancient and Medieval World: Questions of Iconography, Style and Technique from the Beginnings of Mosaic until the Late Byzantine Era*]. Ed. Mustafa Şahın. Istanbul: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2011. 793–822.

Pranger, M. B. "Augustine and the Return of the Senses." In *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000" (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 14. Eds. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005. 53–67.

Prentice, William Kelly. *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section B: Northern Syria*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1922.

Prestige, Leonard. "Perichoreo and Perichoresis in the Fathers." *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1928): 242–252.

Prontera, Francesco. *Tabula peutingeriana: le antiche vie del mondo*. Biblioteca di "Geographia antiqua" 3. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2003.

Puech, Henri-Charles. "Le cerf et le serpent : note sur le symbolisme de la mosaïque découverte au baptistère de l'Henchir Messaouda." *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 17–60.

Pullan, Wendy. "Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega in the Santa Pudenziana Mosaic." In *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Jewish Art 23–24. Ed. Bianca Kühnel. Jerusalem: Journal of the Center for Jewish Art, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998. 405–417.

Purcell, Nicholas. "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building." In *Roman Domestic Buildings*. Ed. Ian M. Barton. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996. 121–151.

Quacquarelli, Antonio. "Catechesi liturgica e iconologica alla Trinità nei primi secoli. Gammadia (lettera cristologica) Γ." *Vetera Christianorum* 18 (1981): 5–32.

_____. "I monogrammi cristologici del battistero degli ortodossi di Ravenna."

*Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 26 (1979): 313–324.

_____. "Il monogramma cristologico (gammadia) Z." *Vetera Christianorum* 15 (1978): 5–21.

_____. "La gammadia pietra angolare: L." *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984): 5–26.

_____. "Note esegetiche sul pavimento musivo della basilica di Aquileia: Il *bestiarius*." *Antichità altoadriatiche* 22 (1982): 429–462.

Quasten, Johannes. "Das Bild des Guten Hirten in den altchristlichen Baptisterien und in den Taufliturgien des Ostens und Westens. Das Siegel der Gottesherde." In *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern und Schülern*. Eds. Theodor Klauser and Adolf Rücker. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1939. 220–244.

_____. "The Painting of the Good Shepherd at Dura-Europos." *Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1947): 1–18.

Quinn, Frank C. "Confirmation Reconsidered: Rite and Meaning." In *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*. Ed. Maxwell E. Johnson. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995. 219–237.

Rahner, Hugo. *Mater Ecclesia: Lobpreis der Kirche aus dem ersten Jahrtausend christlicher Literatur*. Einsiedeln, 1944.

Rahner, Karl. "Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène." *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 13 (1932): 113–145.

Ramsey, Boniface. *Ambrose*. London, New York: Routledge, 1997.

Rasch, Jürgen J., and Archim Arbeiter. *Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom*. Mainz: Zabern, 2007.

Raynal, Dominique. *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique : Uppenna I. Les fouilles 1904–1907*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005.

_____. *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique : Uppenna II. Mosaïques funéraires et mémoire des martyrs*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005.

Rebuffat, René. "Cuicul, le 21 juillet 365." *Antiquités africaines* 15 (1980): 309–328.

Reischl, W. C., and J. Rupp, eds. *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*. Vol. 1. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967.

Renard, Marcel. "*L'asarotos-oikos* d'El Jem." *Cahiers de Tunisie* 12, no. 45–46 (1964): 35–38.

_____. “Pline l’Ancien et le motif de l’*asarotos-oikos*.” *Latomus* 18 (1956): 307–314.

Renaut, Luc. “Les déclamations d’ekphraseis : une réalité vivante à Gaza au VI^e^ siècle.” In *Gaza dans l’Antiquité Tardive : archéologie, rhétorique et histoire. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers (6–7 mai 2004)*. Ed. Catherine Saliou (Salerno: Helios, 2005): 197–220.

_____. “La description d’une croix cosmique par Jean de Gaza, poète palestinien du VIe siècle.” In *Iconographica : Mélanges offerts à Piotr Skubiszewski, Professeur à l’Université de Poitiers et à l’Université de Varsovie*. Eds. Robert Favreau and Marie-Hélène Debiès. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre d’études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1999. 211–220.

Rendić-Miočević, D. “Question de la chronologie du développement des basiliques doubles de Salone.” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 77 (1984): 175–186.

Reudenbach, Bruno. “*Loca sancta*. Zur materiellen Übertragung der heiligen Stätten.” In *Jerusalem, du Schöne: Vorstellungen und Bilder einer heiligen Stadt*. Ed. Bruno Reudenbach. Bern: Lang, 2008. 9–32.

_____. “Reliquien von Orten. Ein frühchristliches Reliquiart als Gedächtnisort.” In *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*. Eds. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005. 21–41.

Riley, Hugh M. *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1974.

Ringbom, Lars-Ivar. *Paradisus Terrestris: Myt, Bild och Verklighet*. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ, New Series 1.1. Helsinki: Tilgmann, 1958.

Ristow, Günter. “Zur Personifikation des Jordan in Taufdarstellungen der frühen christlichen Kunst.” In *Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*. Ed. Johannes Irmscher. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957. 120–126.

Ristow, Sebastian. *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 27. Münster: Aschendorffesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1998.

Rizzardi, Clementina. “Considerazioni sui mosaici di San Vitale di Ravenna: il ciclo di Mosè.” In *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, Held at Bath, England, on September 5–12, 1987*. Vol. 2. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 9. Eds. Peter Johnson, Roger Ling, and David J. Smith. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1994. 219–230.

_____. “I mosaici dell’arco trionfale di Sant’Apollinare in Classe: precisazioni

iconografiche cronologiche e stilistiche." *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32 (1985): 403–430.

_____, ed. *Il mosaico a Ravenna: ideologia e arte*. Università di Bologna, Dipartimento di Archeologia, Studi e scavi 32. Bologna: Ante Quem, 2011.

_____. *I sarcofagi paleocristiani con rappresentazione del passaggio del Mar Rosso*. Saggi d'arte e d'archeologia dell'Istituto di antichità ravennati e bizantine dell'Università degli studi di Bologna 2. Faenza: Fratelli Lega Editori, 1970.

Roberti, Mario Mirabella. "Il battistero antico di Milano." In *Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Ravenna, 23–30 Settembre, 1962*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1965. 703–707.

_____. "Le strutture del Battistero di Albenga." *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 53 (1987): 173–178.

Roberti, Mario Mirabella, and Angelo Paredi, eds. *Il battistero ambrosiano di San Giovanni alle fonti*. Milan: Veneranda fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1974.

Rolland, H., and J. Formigé. "Le baptistère de Saint-Rémy-de-Provence." *Gallia* 1, no. 2 (1943): 207–228.

Rose, Els, ed. *Missale gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (CCSL) 159D. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005.

Rouquette, Jean-Maurice. "Trois nouveaux sarcophages chrétiens de Trinquetaille (Arles)." *Comptes rendus de l'Académie de Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 118, no. 2 (1974): 254–273.

Sabatier, Pierre. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae, seu Vetus Italica, et Caeterae quaecunque in Codicibus Mss. & antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: Quae cum Vulgata Latina, & cum Textu Graeco comparantur*. Vol. 2. Reims: Reginaldum Florentain, 1743.

Saller, Sylvester. "L'église du Mont Nébo." *Revue biblique* 43 (1934): 120–127.

Salvadori, Sharon, "Sin and Redemption, Sexuality and Gender: Adam and Eve in the Funerary Art of Late Antique Rome." In ANAΘHMATA EOPTIKA: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews. Eds. Joseph D. Alchermes, Helen C. Evans, and Thelma K. Thomas. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009. 271–282.

Salway, Benet. "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map." *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 119–135.

Salzman, Michele Renee. *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the*

*Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*. Transformation of the Classical Heritage 17. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

Samorini, Giorgio. "Gli 'alberi-fungo' nell'arte cristiana." *Eleusis* 1 (1998): 87–108.

Sandwell, Isabella. "How to Teach Genesis 1.1–19: John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea on the Creation of the World." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 19, no. 3 (2011): 539–564.

Sannazaro, Marco. "L'edificio battesimale nella metropoli milanese e nelle diocesi suffraganee lombarde." In *Albenga città episcopale: tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza. Convegno Internazionale e Tavola Rotonda, Albenga, Palazzo Vescovile: Sala degli Stemmi e Sala degli Arazzi, 21–23 settembre 2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Mario Marcenaro. Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2007. 705–740.

Santagata, Giuliana. "La 'mensa' della basilica paleocristiana di Pianabella: ipotesi su alcuni aspetti del problema dell'origine e della funzione delle tavole con bordo decorato." *Esercizi* 4 (1982): 5–22.

Scafi, Alessandro. *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*. London: British Library, 2006.

Scalise, Brian T. "Perichoresis in Gregory of Nazianzen and Maximus the Confessor." *Eleutheria* 2, no. 1 (2012): 58–76.

Scaparro, Maurizio, et al., eds. *Teatri greci e romani alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato*. 3 vols. Rome: SEAT, 1994.

Schetter, Willy. "Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 8." *Hermes* 110, no. 1 (1982): 110–117.

Schlatter, Fredric W. "Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana." *Vigiliae Christianae* 46, no. 3 (1992): 276–295.

_____. "The Text in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana." *Vigiliae Christianae* 43, no. 2 (1989): 155–165.

Schneider, Erhard. "Le baptistère d'El-Gaalla." *Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes* 58, no. 175 (1995): 85–106.

_____. "Le baptistère d'El-Gaalla (Tunisie). Lieu de réconciliation entre orthodoxes vainqueurs et ariens vaincus (VI$^{e}$ siècles après J.-C.)." *Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes* 72, no. 203 (2009): 13–54.

Schneider, Hannah. "Die Entwicklung der Taufbecken in der Spätantike." In *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism (Waschungen, Initiation und Taufe): Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity (Spätantike, Frühes Judentum und Frühes Christentum)*. Vol. 2. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 176. Eds. David Hellholm, et al. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011. 1697–1719,

1863–1871.

Schnusenberg, Christine. *The Relationship Between the Church and the Theatre: Exemplified by Selected Writings of the Church Fathers and by Liturgical Texts Until Amalarius of Metz, 775–852 A.D.* Lanham, New York: University Press of America, 1988.

Schreiber, Margaret M. "*Ordo baptismi in vigiliis paschae* in the *Bobbio Missal*: An Historical and Theological Study." S.T.D. diss. Catholic University of America, 2009.

Schubert, Kurt, and Ursula Schubert. "Die Vertreibung aus dem Paradies in der Katakombe der Via Latina in Rom." In *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 12. Ed. Jacob Neusner. Leiden: Brill, 1975. 173–180.

Schwarzenberg, Erkinger. "Colour, Light and Transparency in the Greek World." In *Medieval Mosaics: Light, Color, Materials*. Eds. Eve Borsook, Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, and Giovanni Pagliarulo. The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa i Tatti 17. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2000. 15–34.

Sciarretta, Valeria. *Il Battistero di Albenga*. Ravenna: A. Longo, 1977.

Scirghi, Thomas J. "What's in a Name? The Significance of the Traditional Trinitarian Formula in Baptism." Th.D. diss. Boston University, 1996.

Scotti, Franca Maselli. "Aquileia, il complesso paleocristiano: stato attuale dei mosaici e loro valorizzazione." In *Atti dell'VIII Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico (Firenze, 21–23 febbraio 2001)*. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Andrea Paribeni. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2001. 185–190.

Scrinari, Valnea Santa Maria. *Il Laterano imperiale, Vol. 1: Dalle "aedes Laterani" alla "Domus Faustae"*. Monumenta di antichità cristiana 2, series 11. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1991.

_____. *Il Laterano imperiale, Vol. II: Dagli "horti Domitiae" alla Cappella cristiana*. Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2, series 11. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1995.

_____. *Il Laterano imperiale, Vol. III: La proprietà di Licinio Sura e il problema degli acquedotti*. Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2, series 11. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1997.

Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

_____. "The *Scaenae Frons* of the Theater of Pompey." *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, no. 4 (1993): 687–701.

_____. *Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics*. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung 23. Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle Verlag, 1977.

Searle, John R. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Searle, Mark, and Kenneth W. Stevenson, eds. *Documents of the Marriage Liturgy*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992.

Shepherd, Massey H., Jr. "Christology: A Central Problem of Early Christian Theology and Art." In *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*. Ed. Kurt Weitzmann. New York; Princeton: Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with Princeton University Press, 1980. 101–120.

Sivan, Hagith. *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Slim, Hédi. "Recherches préliminaires sur les amphithéâtres romains de Tunisie." In *L'Africa romana: Atti del I Convegno di studio Sassari, 16–17 dicembre 1983*. Ed. Attilio Mastino. Sassari: 1984. 129–165.

Smith, Molly Teasdale. "The Lateran *Fastigium*: A Gift of Constantine the Great." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 46 (1970): 149–175.

Snively, Carolyn Sue. "The Early Christian Basilicas of Stobi: A Study of Form, Function, and Location." Ph.D. diss. University of Texas at Austin, 1979.

Snyder, James. "The Meaning of the 'Maiestas Domini' in Hosios David." *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 143–152.

Sodini, Jean-Pierre. "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce: Catalogue des pavements de mosaïque situés dans les basiliques paléochrétiennes de Grèce continentale (y compris l'Eubée et Corfou) et du Péloponnèse." *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 94, no. 2 (1970): 699–753.

Sörries, Reiner. *Die Bilder der Orthodoxen im Kampf gegen den Arianismus: Eine Apologie der orthodoxen Christologie und Trinitätslehre gegenüber der arianischen Häresie, dargestellt an den ravennatischen Mosaiken und Bildern des 6. Jahrhunderts. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des germanischen Homöertums*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23, Vol. 186. Frankfurt am Main, Bern: Peter Lang, 1983.

_____. "Frühchristliche Denkmäler in Albanien." *Antike Welt* 14, no. 4 (1983): 7–26.

Sordi, Marta, et al. *Agostino a Milano: Il battesimo. Agostino nelle terre di Ambrogio (22–24 aprile 1987)*. Augustiniana, Testi e Studi 3. Palermo: Edizioni Augustinus, 1988.

Sotinel, Claire. “Chronologie, topographie, histoire: quelques hypothèses sur *S. Felix in Pincis*, église disparue.” In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 1. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 449–471.

Spanu, Pier Giorgio. “*Fons vivus*. Culti delle acque e santuari cristiani tra tarda antichità e alto Medioevo.” In *L’acqua nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 12–17 aprile 2007*. Vol. 2. Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo 55. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2008. 1029–1077.

Spier, Jeffrey. *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*. 2nd revised ed. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 20. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013.

_____, ed. *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*. New Haven; Fort Worth: Yale University Press in association with the Kimbell Art Museum, 2007.

Spieser, Jean-Michel. *Images du Christ des catacombes aux lendemains de l’Iconoclasme*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2015.

_____. “Remarques complémentaires sur la mosaïque de Osios David.” In *Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία, 324–1430 μ.Χ., Θεσσαλονίκη, 29–31 Οκτωβρίου 1992: Διεθνείς Συμπόσιο.* Thessaloniki: Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, 1995. 295–306.

_____. “The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches.” *Gesta* 37, no. 1 (1998): 63–73.

Spinks, Bryan D. *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent*. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

Squire, Michael, ed. *Sight and the Ancient Senses.* Oxford: Routledge, 2016.

Staats, Reinhart. “Ogdoas als ein Symbol für die Auferstehung.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 26, no. 1 (1972): 29–52.

Stager, Lawrence E. “Jerusalem as Eden.” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 26, no. 3 (2000): 36–47, 66.

Stauffer, S. Anita. *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern*. Bramcote, Nottingham: Grove Books Limited, 1994.

Stead, Julian. “*Perichoresis* in the Christological Chapters of the *De Trinitate* of Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria.” *Dominican Studies* 6 (1953): 12–20.

Steen, Olaf. "The Apse Mosaic of S. Pudenziana and Its Relation to the Fifth Century Mosaics of S. Sabina and S. Maria Maggiore." In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000*. Studi di antichità cristiana 59. Vol. 3. Eds. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002. 1939–1948.

Stemmer, Peter. "*Perichorese*. Zur Geschichte eines Begriffs." *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 27 (1983): 9–55.

Stern, Henri. "Le décor des pavements et des cuves dans les baptistères paléochrétiens." In *Actes du Ve Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence, 13–19 septembre 1954*. Ed. J. Ziller. Vatican City; Paris: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Société d'édition "Les belles-lettres." 381–390.

Stevens, Susan T. "A New Christian Structure on the Outskirts of Carthage: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 Excavations at Bir Ftouha." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 375–378.

_____. "Excavations of an Early Christian Pilgrimage Complex at Bir Ftouha (Carthage)." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 271–274.

Stevens, Susan T, Angela V. Kalinowski, and Hans vanderLeest, eds. *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage*. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 59. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2005.

Stevens, Wesley M. "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's 'De natura rerum.'" *Isis* 71, no. 2 (1980): 268–277.

Stewart-Sykes, Alistair. "Catechumenate and Contra-Culture: The Social Process of Catechumenate in Third-Century Africa and Its Development." *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 47, no. 3–4 (2003): 289–306.

_____. *The Didascalia apostolorum: An English Version with Introduction and Annotation*. Studia Traditionis Theologiae, Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology 1. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009.

_____. *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition*. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.

_____, ed. *Melito of Sardis: On Pascha, with the Fragments of Melito and Other Material Related to the Quartodecimans*. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.

_____. "*Traditio Apostolica*: The Liturgy of Third-Century Rome and the Hippolytean School or *Quomodo historia liturgica conscribenda sit*." *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 233–248.

Stommel, Eduard. “Christliche Taufriten und antike Badesitten.” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1959): 5–14.

Stramara, Jr., Daniel F. “Gregory of Nyssa’s Terminology for Trinitarian Perichoresis.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 3 (1998): 257–263.

Strube, Christine. “Zur Datierung der Baudekoration von Tebessa.” In *Innovation in der Spätantike: Kolloquium Basel 6. und 7. Mai 1994*. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 1. Ed. Beat Brenk. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1996. 423–455.

Strzygowski, Josef. *Iconographie der Taufe Christi. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst*. Munich: Verlag von Theodor Riedel, 1885.

Styger, Paul. “Nymphäen, Mausoleen, Baptisterien: Probleme der Architekturgeschichte.” *Architectura* 1 (1933): 50–55.

Sühling, Friedrich. *Die Taube als religiöses Symbol im christlichen Altertum*. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte 24. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1930.

Swift, Ellen, and Anne Alwis. “The Role of Late Antique Art in Early Christian Worship: A Reconsideration of the Iconography of the ‘Starry Sky’ in the ‘Mausoleum’ of Galla Placidia.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78 (2010): 193–217.

Talbert, Richard J. A., et al. *Rome’s World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Talgam, Rina. “Johannes of Gaza’s *Tabula Mundi* Revisited.” In *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*. Eds. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009. 91–118.

_____. *Mosaics of Faith: Floors of Pagans, Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem; University Park: Yad Ben-Zvi Press; Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

Tambiah, Stanley J. “A Performative Approach to Ritual.” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 113–169.

Tavano, Sergio. *Aquileia Cristiana*. Antichità Altoadriatiche 3. Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1972.

_____. “Mosaici pavimentali nell’età di Giustiniano appunti sugli orientamenti politici e formali.” *Arte in Friuli, arte a Trieste* 21–22 (2003): 27–36.

Temple, Nicholas. “Baptism and Sacrifice: Cosmogony as Private Ontology.”

*Architectural Research Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (2005): 47–60.

_____. "Conversion and Political Expedience: Imperial Themes in the Early Christian Baptistery." *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 80 (2002): 5–45.

Terry, James H. "Christian Tomb Mosaics of Late Roman, Vandalic and Byzantine Byzacena." Ph.D. diss. University of Missouri–Columbia, 1998.

Tertullian of Carthage. *De baptismo liber. Homily on Baptism*. Ed. and trans. Ernest Evans. London: S.P.C.K., 1964.

_____. *Qvinti Septimi Florentis Tertvlliani Opera, Pars I*. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 1. Ed. J. G. Ph. Borleffs. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Testini, Pasquale. *Archeologia cristiana: nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI. Propedeutica, topografia cimiteriale, epigrafia, edifici di culto*. Rome: Desclée 1958.

_____. "L'oratorio scoperto al 'Monte della Giustizia' presso la porta Viminale a Roma." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 44 (1968): 219–260.

_____. "Saggi di scavo presso S. Aurea (Ostia)." In *Scavi e ricerche archeologiche degli anni 1976–1979*. Vol. 2. Quaderni de la ricerca scientifica 112. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1985. 323–326.

Testini, Pasquale, Gisella Cantino Wataghin, and Letizia Ermini Pani. "La Cattedrale in Italia: nota introduttiva." In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 1. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 5–57.

Thébert, Yvon. *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur contexte méditerranéen : études d'histoire et d'archéologie*. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 315. Rome: École française de Rome, 2003.

Thébert, Yvon, and Jean-Louis Biget. "L'Afrique après la disparition de la cité classique : cohérence et ruptures dans l'histoire maghrébine." In *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain (I^er^ siècle av. J.C.–IV^e^ siècle ap. J.C. Actes du colloque org. par l'École française de Rome dous le patronage de l'Institut national d'archéologie et d'Art de Tunis (Rome, 3–5 décembre 1987)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 134. Rome: École française de Rome, 1990. 575–602.

Theodore of Mopsuestia. *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*. Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents Edited and Translated with a Critical Apparatus 6. Ed. A. Mingana. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, 1933.

_____. *Les Homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste : reproduction*

*phototypique du MS. Mingana Syr. 561 (Selly Oak Colleges' Library, Birmingham)*. Eds. Raymond Tonneau and Robert Devreesse. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949.

Theodorou, A. "Light as Image and Symbol in the Theology of Gregory Nazianzos." *Theologia* 47 (1976): 253–262.

Thirion, Jean. "Un ensemble thermal avec mosaïques à Thina (Tunisie)." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 69 (1957): 207–245.

Thomas, Michael L., and John R. Clarke. "The Oplontis Project, 2005–2006: New Evidence for the Building History and Decorative Programs at Villa A, Torre Annunziata." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003–2006). Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 1–3 febbraio 2007*. Ed. Maria Paola Guidobaldi. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008), 465–471.

Thunø, Erik. *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

_____. "Looking at Letters: 'Living Writing' in S. Sabina in Rome." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 34 (2007): 19–41.

Tiberia, Vitaliano. "Mosaici restaurati nella basilica dei Santi Cosma e Damiano a Roma." In *Mosaici a S. Vitale e altri restauri: il restauro in situ di mosaici parietali. Atti del Convegno nazionale sul restauro in situ di mosaici parietali, Ravenna, 1–3 ottobre 1990*. Eds. Anna Maria Iannucci, Cesare Fiori, and Cetty Muscolino. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1992. 111–132.

Toesca, Pietro. *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*. Milan: U. Hoepli, 1912.

Toker, Franklin. "A Baptistery below the Baptistery of Florence." *Art Bulletin* 58, no. 2 (1976): 157–167.

Tomasevic, G. C. "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis: Notices préliminaires." In *La mosaïque gréco-romaine II: Actes du IIe Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique, Vienne, 30 août–4 septembre 1971*. Eds. Henri Stern and Marcel Le Glay. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1975. 385–399.

Tomei, Alessandro. "I calchi del mosaico absidale di San Giovanni in Laterano." In *Fragmenta picta: Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano. Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo, 15 dicembre 1989–18 febbraio 1990*. Eds. Maria Andaloro, Alessandra Ghidoli, Antonio Iacobini, Serena Romano, and Alessandro Tomei. Rome: Àrgos Edizioni, 1989. 239–242.

Torp, Hjalmar. "Dogmatic Themes in the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki." *Arte medievale* 1, no. 1 (2002): 11–34.

Torres, Milton Luiz. "Christian Burial Practices at Ostia Antica: Backgrounds and

Contexts with a Case Study of the Pianabella Basilica." Ph.D. diss. University of Texas at Austin, 2008.

Torselli, Giorgio. *Sant'Aurea e il borgo medievale di Ostia Antica*. Rome: Edizioni E.C.G., 1994.

Toutain, J. "Le Culte des Fleuves, sa forme primitive et ses principaux rites chez les peuples de l'antiquité classique." *L'Ethnographie* 13 (1926): 1–7.

Trinci, R. "Il battistero Ursiano e la sezione aurea: Ricerche ed indagini sulla progettazione e la costruzione del battistero Ursiano." In *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Roma, 21–27 settembre 1975*. Vol. 2. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1978. 563–591.

Tuell, Steven. "The Rivers of Paradise: Ezekiel 47:1–12 and Genesis 2:10–14." In *God Who Creates: Essays in Honor of W. Sibley Towner*. Eds. William P. Brown and S. Dean McBride, Jr. Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000. 171–189.

Twombly, Charles C. Perichoresis *and Personhood: God, Christ, and Salvation in John of Damascus*. Princeton Theological Monograph 216. Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2015.

Ugolini, Luigi M. "Il battistero di Butrinto." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 11, no. 3 (1934): 265–283.

Underwood, Paul A. "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950): 43–138.

Unger, F. W. "Ueber die christlichen Rund- und Octogon-Bauten." *Bonner Jahrbücher* 41 (1866): 25–42.

Usai, Luisanna. "L'ipogeo di Via Livenza in Roma." *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 6 (1972): 363–412.

Utro, Umberto. "Per un approccio interdisciplinare ai sarcofagi paleocristiani: la Trinità sul sarcofago 'dogmatico' dei Musei Vaticani." In *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra Tardoantico ed Altomedioevo*. Vol. 1. Eds. Rosa Maria Bonacasa Carra and Emma Vitale. Palermo: C. Saladino, 2007. 267–282.

Vaglieri, Dante. "Scoperte di antichità cristiane in Ostia." *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 16 (1910): 57–62.

van Dael, Peter. "Purpose and Function of Decoration-Schemes in Early Christian Baptisteries." In *Fides sacramenti, sacramentum fidei: Studies in Honour of Pieter Smulders*. Eds. Hans Jörg Auf der Maur, Leo Bakker, Annewies van de Bunt, and Joop Waldram. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981. 113–136

van de Bunt, Annewies. "Milk and Honey in the Theology of Clement of

Alexandria." In *Fides sacramenti, sacramentum fidei: Studies in Honour of Pieter Smulders*. Eds. Hans Jörg Auf der Maur, Leo Bakker, Annewies van de Bunt, and Joop Waldram. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981. 27–40.

van den Hoek, Annewies, and John J. Herrmann, Jr. "Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards, and Canthari." *Harvard Theological Review* 93, no. 3 (2000): 173–219.

Van Slyke, Daniel G. "The Devil and His Pomps in Fifth-Century Carthage: Renouncing Spectacula with Spectacular Imagery." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005): 53–72.

Vassileva, D. "La basilique du Cerf." *Byzantinobulgarica* 4 (1973): 253–273.

Veganzones, Alejandro Recio. "La inscripción poética monumental del antiguo baptisterio de la sede *tuccitana* (martos) en la *baetica*." In *Actes du XI^e^ Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 123. Vol. 1. Ed. Noël Duval. Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnése, 1989. 837–858.

Velmans, Tania. "Quelques versions rares du thème de la fontaine de vie dans l'art paléochrétien." *Cahiers archéologiques* 19 (1969): 39–43.

Vendries, Christophe. "À l'écoute de la nature : l'environnement sonore des jardins d'agrément dans la civilisation romaine." In *Paradeisos : Genèse et métamorphose de la notion de paradis dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international*. Ed. Éric Morvillez. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 211–230.

Verhoeven, Mariëtte. *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory*. Architectural Crossroads: Studies in the History of Architecture. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.

Verkerk, Dorothy Hoogland. "*The font is a kind of grave*: Remembrance in the Via Latina Catacombs." In *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*. Eds. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast. Aldershot; Brookfield: Ashgate, 2000. 157–181.

Vernia, Barbara. "I mosaici della volta del presbiterio di S. Vitale a Ravenna: aspetti iconografici e significato simbolico." In *Atti del IX Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico (Aosta, 20–22 febbraio 2003)*. Ed. Claudia Angelelli. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2004. 495–505.

Virgil. *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*. Loeb Classical Library 63. Eds. H. Rushton Fairclough and G. P. Goold. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Vishnevskaya, Elena. "Perichoresis in the Context of Divinization: Maximus the Confessor's Vision of a 'Blessed and Most Holy Embrace.'" Ph.D. diss. Drew University, 2011.

Volanakes, Ioannes. Τα παλαιοχριστιανικά βαπτιστήρια της Ελλάδος. Βιβλιοθήκη της Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 84. Athens: Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 1976.

Volbach, Wolfgang Fritz. *Frühchristliche Kunst*. Munich: Hirmer, 1958.

von Campenhausen, Hans Freiherr. "Die Bilderfrage als theologisches Problem der alten Kirche." In *Das Gottesbild im Abendland*. Ed. Wolfgang Schöne et al. Witten: Eckart-Verlag, 1957. 77–108.

von Gerkan, Armin. "Die christliche Anlage in Ostia." *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1939): 15–23.

von Schönborn, Christoph. *L'icône du Christ : fondements théologiques élaborés entre le I^er^ le II^e^ Concile de Nicée (325–787)*. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1976.

von Stackelberg, Katharine T. *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society*. London, New York: Routledge, 2009.

Voute, Pauline. "Notes sur l'iconographie d'océan. À propos d'une fontaine à mosaïques découverte à Nole (Campanie)." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 84, no. 1 (1972): 639–674.

Voytenko, Anton. "Paradise Regained or Paradise Lost: The Coptic (Sahidic) Life of St. Onnophrius and Egyptian Monasticism at the End of the Fourth Century." In *Actes du huitième Congrès international d'études coptes, Paris, 28 juin–3 juillet 2004*. Vol. 2. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 163. Eds. Nathalie Boisson and Anne Boud'hors. Leuven, Dudley: Peeters, 2007. 635–644.

Ward, Roy Bowen. "Women in Roman Baths." *Harvard Theological Review* 85, no. 2 (1992): 125–147.

Ward-Perkins, J. B. "Review of *L'Agora di Cirene. 1: I lati nord ed est della platea inferiore* by Sandro Stucchi; *L'insula di Giasone Magno a Cirene* by Paolino Mingazzini and Enrica Fiandra." *Gnomon* 40, no. 7 (1968): 699–704.

Warner, George F., ed. *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*. Vol. 2. London: Harrison and Sons for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915.

Warning, Rainer, and Marshall Brown. "On the Alterity of Medieval Religious Drama." *New Literary History* 10, no. 2 (1979): 265–292.

Waser, Otto. "Vom Flußgott Jordan und andern Personifikationen." In *Festgabe Adolf Kaegi von Schülern und Freunden dargebracht zum 30. September 1919*. Frauenfeld: Druck von Huber, 1919. 191–217.

Waywell, S. E. "Roman Mosaics in Greece." *American Journal of Archaeology* 83,

no. 3 (1979): 293–321.

Webb, Ruth. "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in 'Ekphraseis' of Church Buildings." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 59–74.

_____. *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).

Weber, Ekkehard. *Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324. Vollständige Faksimile Ausg. im Originalformat*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976.

Wehrhahn-Stauch, Liselotte. "Christliche Fischsymbolik von den Anfängen bis zum hohen Mittelalter." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 35, no. 1/2 (1972): 1–68.

Weinryb, Ittai. "A Tale of Two Baptisteries: Royal and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Ravenna." *Assaph* 7 (2002): 41–58.

Weitzmann, Kurt, ed. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979.

_____. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons. Vol. 1: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

_____. "The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 6 (1966): 392–405.

Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Wescoat, Bonna D., and Robert G. Ousterhout, eds. *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Westgate, Ruth. "*Pavimenta atque emblemata vermiculata*: Regional Styles in Hellenistic Mosaic and the First Mosaics at Pompeii." *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, no. 2 (2000): 255–275.

Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

_____. "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna." *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (1987): 358–375.

_____. "The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Politics of Sacred Landscape." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 313–325.

Whitaker, E. C., and Maxwell E. Johnson, eds. *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*. 3rd ed. revised. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003.

Widrig, Walter. "Two Churches at Latrun in Cyrenaica." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 46 (1978): 94–131.

Williams, George Huntston. "The Wilderness and Paradise in the History of the Church." *Church History* 28, no. 1 (1959): 3–24.

Wills, Garry. *Font of Life: Ambrose, Augustine, and the Mystery of Baptism*. Emblems of Antiquity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Wilpert, Joseph. *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*. 2 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1903.

_____. "Un battistero 'Ad Nymphas B. Petri." *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2 (1923): 57–82.

Wilson, Andrew. "Running Water and Social Status in North Africa." In *North Africa from Antiquity to Islam: Papers of a Conference Held at Bristol, October 1994*. CMS-Occasional Paper 13. Eds. Mark Horton and Thomas Wiedemann. Bristol: Centre for Mediterranean Studies and Centre for the Study of the Reception of Classical Antiquity, University of Bristol, 1995. 52–56.

_____. "Water, Power and Culture in the Roman and Byzantine Worlds: An Introduction." *Water History* 4 (2012): 1–9.

Wilson, R. J. A. "Roman Mosaics in Sicily: The African Connection." *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 3 (1982): 413–428.

Windfeld-Hansen, H. "Édifices antiques à plan central d'après les architectes de la renaissance et baptistères paléochrétiens." In *Actes du Ve Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence, 13–19 septembre 1954*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1957. 391–399.

Winkler, Gabriele. *Das armenische Initiationsrituale: Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 217. Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982.

_____. "The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications." *Worship* 52, no. 1 (1978): 24–45.

Wiseman, James. "Stobi in Yugoslavian Macedonia: Archaeological Excavations and Research, 1977–78." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5, no. 4 (1978): 391–429.

Wiseman, James, and Djordje Mano-Zissi. "Excavations at Stobi, 1970." *American Journal of Archaeology* 75, no. 4 (1973): 395–411.

_____. “Excavations at Stobi, 1971.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 76, no. 4 (1972): 407–424.

_____. “Excavations at Stobi, 1972.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 77, no. 4 (1973): 391–403.

_____. “Excavations at Stobi, 1973–1974.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 1, no. 1/2 (1974): 117–148.

_____. “Stobi: A City of Ancient Macedonia.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (1976): 269–302.

Wisskirchen, Rotraut. “Der bekleidete Adam thront inmitten der Tiere. Zum Bodenmosaik des Mittelschiffs der Nordkirche von Huarte/Syrien.” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 45 (2002): 137–152.

_____. “Zum Apsismosaik der Kirche Hosios David/Thessalonike.” In *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*. Eds. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten. Münster: Aschendorff, 1996. 582–594.

_____. “Zum Medaillon im Kuppelmosaik des Orthodoxenbaptisteriums.” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 36 (1993): 164–170.

Wlosok, Antonie. “Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher ‘Vergilrezeption’ Polemik (Lact., div. inst. 5,10) und Usurpation (Or. Const. 19–21).” In *Res humanae – res divinae: Kleine Schriften*. Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften 2, Reihe 84. Eds. Antonie Wlosok, Eberhard Heck, and Ernst A. Schmidt. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1990. 437–444.

Wohl, Birgitta Lindros. “Constantine’s Use of Spolia.” In *Late Antiquity: Art in Context*. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Acta Hyperborea 8. Eds. Jens Fleischer, John Lund, and Marjatta Nielsen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2001. 85–115.

Wolska-Conus, Wanda, ed. and trans. *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie Chrétienne*. 2 vols. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968.

_____. “La ‘Topographie chrétienne’ de Cosmas Indicopleustès : hypothèses sur quelques thèmes de son illustration.” *Revue des études byzantines* 48 (1990): 155–191.

_____. *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès : theologie et science au VI siècle.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.

Wright, M. R. *Cosmology in Antiquity*. Sciences of Antiquity. London, New York: Routledge, 1995.

Yacoub, Mohamed. *Splendeurs des mosaïques de Tunisie*. Tunis: Éditions de

l'Agence Nationale du Patrimoine, 1995.

Yarnold, Edward. *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century*. Slough: St Paul Publications, 1972.

_____. *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the RCIA*. 2nd ed. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1994.

_____. "The Baptism of Constantine." In *Studia Patristica* 26 (1991): 95–101.

Yasin, Ann Marie. "Reassessing Salona's Churches: *Martyrium* Evolution in Question." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 1 (2012): 59–112.

Yegül, Fikret. *Bathing in the Roman World*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

_____. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. New York; Cambridge, Mass.: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1992.

Ysebaert, J. *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origins and Early Development*. Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva, Studia ad Sermonem Graecum Pertinentia Edenda Curant. Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1962.

Zellinger, Johannes. *Bad und Bäder in der altchristlichen Kirche eine Studie über Christentum und Antike*. Munich: Huber, 1928.

Zeno of Verona. *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatvs*. Corpus Christianorum Scriptorum Latinorum 22. Ed. B. Löfstedt. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971.

Zettinger, Joseph. "Die ältesten Nachrichten über Baptisterien der Stadt Rom." *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1902): 326–349.

Ziolkowski, Jan M., and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds. *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Zohar, Diklah. "Mosaic Artists in the Byzantine East: Towards a New Definition of Workshop Construction." *Eastern Christian Art* 3 (2006): 143–152.

_____. "A New Approach to the Problem of Pattern Books in Early Byzantine Mosaics: The Depiction of the Giraffe in the Near East as a Case Study." *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008): 123–146.

Zwi Werblowsky, R. J. "On the Baptismal Rite According to St. Hippolytus." *Studia Patristica* 2 (1957): 93–105.

# Nathan S. Dennis

Assistant Professor
Department of Art & Architecture
Fromm Hall, XARTS 007
University of San Francisco
2130 Fulton Street
San Francisco, CA 94117-1080

(806) 730-5385 (Mobile)
ndennis@usfca.edu or nathan.s.dennis@gmail.com

## Education

- Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
  - Ph.D. (2016), Department of the History of Art
    *Dissertation: "Performing Paradise in the Early Christian Baptistery: Art, Liturgy, and the Transformation of Vision"*
- Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
  - M.A. (2010), Department of the History of Art
    - *Major Field: Early Christian Art of the Mediterranean Basin and African Littoral, 3rd to 7th Century* (Adviser: Herbert L. Kessler)
    - *Minor Field: Monumental Art of Early Byzantium: Ravenna, Thessaloniki, and Constantinople* (Adviser: Henry Maguire)
- Golden Gate Seminary, Mill Valley, California
  - Th.M. in Early Christian and Jewish Art (2006)
    - *Thesis: "Early Christian Viewers in the Greco-Roman World: Art and Visual Hermeneutics in Second Sophistic and Late Antique Christianity"*
- Golden Gate Seminary, Mill Valley, California
  - M.Div. in Ancient Near Eastern Studies (2004)
- University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
  - B.A., Department of Art History (1999), *Departmental Honors*
    - *Major Field: Greek and Roman Art and Architecture*
- University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
  - B.A., Department of English (1998), *Summa cum Laude*
    - *Major Field: British Modernism and World War I Literature*

## Publications

"Living Water, Living Presence: Animating Sacred Space in the Early Christian Baptistery." Under contract for *The Life-Giving Source. Water in the Hierotopy and Iconography of the Christian World*. Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow: Forthcoming.

"Bodies in Motion: Visualizing Trinitarian Space in the Albenga Baptistery." In *Encounters with the Holy: Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in the Medieval*

*Mediterranean*. Eds. Patricia Blessing, Jelena Bogdanović, Maria Cristina Carile, and Katherine Marsengill. Forthcoming.

## Research, Editorial Support, or Review for Publications

Derbes, Anne. "Washed in the Blood of the Lamb: Apocalyptic Visions in the Baptistery of Padua." *Speculum* 91, no. 4 (2016). Forthcoming.

Burns, Jr., J. Patout, and Robin M. Jensen. *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014.

Tucci, Pier Luigi. "Galen and the Library at Antium: The State of the Question." *Classical Philology* 108, no. 3 (2013): 240–251.

Tucci, Pier Luigi. "The Marble Plan of Via Anicia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in Circo Flaminio*: The State of the Question." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 81 (2013): 91–127.

Kessler, Herbert L. "Speculum." *Speculum* 86, no. 1 (2011): 1–41.

Bagnoli, Martina, et al., eds. *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2010.

## Papers Presented

2016 "Optical Games and Spiritual Frames: A Reassessment of Imitation Marble Mosaics in Roman Africa," 2016 Archaeological Institute of America and Society for Classical Studies Annual Meeting, San Francisco, January 6–9, presented at the session *Mimesis, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Roman Art*.

2014 "Living Water, Living Presence: Hierotopy and Aquatic Agency in the Early Christian Baptistery," for the conference, "The Life-Giving Source. Water in the Hierotopy and Iconography of the Christian World," Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia, June 24–26.

2014 "Liminal Bodies, Transfigured Minds: Visualizing *Perichoresis* in the Albenga Baptistery," 49th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 8–11, presented at the session *Baptismal Spaces and Their Decoration: Making a Christian Community*.

2014 "From Shrouds to Shrines: Early Christian Painted Textiles in Egypt," Medieval Academy of America Annual Meeting and the Medieval Association of the Pacific Annual Meeting, University of California, Los Angeles, April 10–12, presented at the session *Sites of Encounter: North Africa*.

2014 "Liminal Bodies, Transfigured Minds: Visualizing *Perichoresis* in the Albenga Baptistery," 44th Annual Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art, National Gallery, Washington, DC, March 8.

2013 "*Per visibilia ad invisibilia*: Carnal and Spiritual Vision in the Early Christian Baptisteries of North Africa," for the conference "Sense-Ability: Multi-Perceptual Encounters with Art," 48th Annual UCLA Graduate Student Association Symposium, University of California, Los Angeles, October 26.

2013 "Mimesis and Materiality: Imitating Marble in the Pavement Mosaics of North African Churches," 20th International Medieval Congress, Leeds, England, July 1–4, presented at the session *Variegated Pleasures: The Sensation of Stone in Medieval Visual and Material Culture*, sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art.

2013 "The Sensuality of Stone in Early Christian Baptisteries of North Africa," North American Patristics Society Annual Meeting, Chicago, May 23–25, presented at the session *Material Christianity in Roman Africa*.

2013 "The Sensuality of Stone in Early Christian Baptisteries of North Africa," Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art Internal Colloquium, April 6.

2009 "The Reception of Greco-Roman Epic in an Early Christian Manuscript," hosted by the Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Abteilung für Klassische Archäologie and Abteilung für Christliche Archäologie und Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany, June 26.

2004 "From House Churches to Basilicas: The Evolution of Worship Space in Early Christianity," Historical Society, Golden Gate Seminary, Mill Valley, California.

2003 "Anti-Neronian Propaganda in the Architecture of Early Flavian Rome," Historical Society, Golden Gate Seminary, Mill Valley, California.

## Invited/Guest Lectures

Summer 2015 American Academy in Rome. Led a site visit and lecture at Santi Cosma e Damiano, including the archaeological remains of the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Romulus in Rome.

Spring 2015 American Academy in Rome. Led a site visit and lecture at the Mithraeum at the Circus Maximus in Rome.

Winter 2015 American Academy in Rome. Led a site visit and lecture at Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum.

Fall 2014 American Academy in Rome. Led a site visit and lecture at the baptistery of San Giovanni in fonte at San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome.

Fall 2014 West Texas A&M University, Department of English. Guest lecturer for an undergraduate seminar on Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, during which I discussed the historical context of the cult of St. Thomas Becket and the importance of relics and pilgrimage in the Middle Ages.

Spring 2013 "San Marco, Venice: Heterogeneity as Unified Form," Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art. Guest lecture for the course "Medieval Spaces: Site, Image, and Viewer in the Middle" (Prof. Christopher Lakey).

Spring 2013 "Personal Beauty and Appearance in the Ancient World," Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Invited Valentine's Day public lecture that highlighted artifacts in the collection pertaining to masculine beauty and grooming in the Greco-Roman world.

Fall 2012 Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art. Guest lecturer on Middle and Late Byzantine art and architecture for the

course “Introduction to the History of Western Art I” (Prof. Herbert Kessler).

Spring 2011 University of Baltimore, Department of English. Guest lecturer for an undergraduate course studying Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales*. I was asked to lecture on the late-medieval cult of relics and pilgrimage, and specifically the importance of the shrine of St. Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, England.

Spring 2005 Golden Gate Seminary. Guest lecturer for a graduate course on Old Testament theology, in which I discussed the introduction of Ugaritic and indigenous Canaanite myths into early-Israelite theology and its effect on the composition of the Hebrew Bible.

Spring 2004 Golden Gate Seminary. Guest lecturer for a graduate course on the history of Christian liturgy. I was asked to present archaeological and art-historical research on the development of Early Christian worship space, in particular the transition from domestic and private spaces (house churches, catacombs) to more public spaces (basilicas) specifically designed to facilitate Christian liturgy.

## Awards and Fellowships

- American Academy in Rome (AAR), Paul Mellon/Samuel H. Kress Foundation Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize (Ancient Studies, 2014–2016)
- Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art, Sadie and Louis Roth Fellowship (2014—to present a paper at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)
- American Research Center in Sofia (ARCS), Bulgaria, ARCS Pre-Doctoral Fellowship (2014–2015, declined)
- Johns Hopkins University, dissertation fellowship from the Charles Singleton Center for the Study of Pre-Modern Europe (Spring 2014—dissertation research in Italy)
- Johns Hopkins University, Dean’s Teaching Fellowship for the course “Art and Architecture of Early Christian and Medieval North Africa” (Fall 2013)
- Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art, Sadie and Louis Roth Fellowship (2013—dissertation research in Serbia, Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey)
- Johns Hopkins University, Department of German and Romance Languages and Literature, Singleton Summer Travel Fellowship (2012—archival research in Italy)
- Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art, Sadie and Louis Roth Fellowship (2012—dissertation research in Algeria and Tunisia)
- Johns Hopkins University and the Walters Art Museum, Robert and Nancy Hall Fellowship for Museum Studies (2012)
- Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art, Sadie and Louis Roth Fellowship (2011—dissertation research in Italy)
- Pittsburgh Foundation, Walter Read Hovey Fellowship in Art History (2011, declined)
- Johns Hopkins University and the Walters Art Museum, Robert and Nancy Hall Fellowship for Museum Studies (2010)
- Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art, Elizabeth Cropper Travel Prize (2010—research in Italy)

- Johns Hopkins University, Department of Classics Exchange Program, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Abteilung für Klassische Archäologie, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany (2009)
- Golden Gate Seminary, Valedictorian for Graduating Class of 2004
- Golden Gate Seminary, Broadman and Holman Publishers Seminarian Award (2004)
- Golden Gate Seminary, Presidential Scholarship (2001)
- University of Oregon, Study Abroad Fellowship, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, Scotland (1996–1997)

## Museum Exhibitions and Curatorial Work

- (2012) Researched and catalogued medieval and early-modern European, Armenian, and Coptic illuminated manuscripts in the permanent collection of the Walters Art Museum. These manuscripts were fully digitized and made available to scholars online, along with extensive research notes.
- (2010) Provided research, design, and administrative support for *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, February 13–May 15, 2011. Specific responsibilities included writing the content for objects highlighted on the museum's special-exhibition website; procuring video clips on medieval manufacturing techniques from other museums and research centers; designing pilgrimage maps for the exhibition catalogue and providing editorial support; creating primary-source readers on the medieval cult of relics for a corresponding undergraduate course, "Walking with Reliquaries," at Johns Hopkins University; aiding in the design of the exhibition space; and writing a family guidebook for non-medieval reliquaries, the cult of relics, and pilgrimage in the Walters Art Museum's permanent collection, which included objects from ancient Egypt, pre-Roman Italy, ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, ancient Israel, Islamic pilgrimage sites, East Asia, the Italian Renaissance and Baroque period, and eighteenth-century Neoclassicism.
- (2006–2008) Served as Curatorial Assistant for the Marian Eakins Archaeological Collection on the campus of Golden Gate Seminary. The museum owns a small but fine collection of Syro-Palestinian, Greco-Roman, ancient Egyptian, and medieval European artifacts, including pottery and glassware, coins, small-scale statuary, and jewelry, among other items. Projects I managed for the museum included redesigning the museum's information brochures (writing/editing and coordination of photography and graphic design), developing marketing strategies and researching grant opportunities, updating the packaging materials and technologies used for storing and transporting the museum's artifacts, photographing objects, and researching upgrades for the museum's cataloguing system. I also researched several objects in the collection, including an Apulian epichysis, several Roman-Palestinian *terra sigillata* lamps, and Roman Imperial coinage.

## Courses Taught

- American Academy in Rome Classical Summer School (Co-Director, Summer 2015). Taught on site in Rome and its environs with Dr. Genevieve Gessert.

- "Florence and Beyond: Art and Culture in the Central Italian Renaissance" (January Intersession, 2014), Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art. The course was taught on site in Florence, Italy, with additional trips to Pisa, Lucca, Fiesole, Siena, and Ravenna.
- "Art and Architecture of Early Christian and Medieval North Africa" (Fall 2013), Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art (cross-listed with the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Center for Africana Studies).
- "Introduction to the History of Western Art I" (Fall 2011), Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art.

## Academic Service

- Johns Hopkins University, TA for Prof. Rebecca Brown, "The Harem and the Veil: Space and Gender in the Islamic World" (Spring 2013)
- Johns Hopkins University, TA for Prof. Pier Luigi Tucci, "Roman Sculpture" (Spring 2012)
- Johns Hopkins University, RA for Prof. Felipe Pereda (Spring 2011)
- Johns Hopkins University, TA for Prof. Henry Maguire, "Byzantine Art" (Spring 2010)
- Johns Hopkins University, RA for Prof. Herbert Kessler (Fall 2009 and Fall 2010)
- Johns Hopkins University, Graduate Representative Organization, Representative for the Department of the History of Art (2009–2010)
- Golden Gate Seminary, TA for Prof. Gary Arbino, "Introduction to the Old Testament I" and "Introduction to the Old Testament II" (Fall 2003 and Spring 2004)
- Golden Gate Seminary, President of the Historical Society (2003–2005)

## Professional Affiliations

- Archaeological Institute of America
- Byzantine Studies Association of North America
- College Art Association
- International Catacomb Society
- International Center of Medieval Art
- Italian Art Society
- Medieval Academy of America
- North American Patristics Society